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CHRISTIAN CREEDS
AND
CONFESSIONS

A SHORT ACCOUNT OF THE SYMBOLICAL BOOKS OF THE CHURCHES AND SECTS OF CHRISTENDOM AND OF THE DOCTRINES DEPENDENT ON THEM

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LONDON

F. NORGATE & CO., 44 SHAFTESBURY AVENUE

EDINBURGH & GLASGOW: J. MENZIES & CO.

1893

Edinburgh : T. and A. Constable, Printers to Her Majesty

AUTHOR'S PREFACE

At a time when Church questions agitate wide circles,—for the old strife between Church and State, between Protestantism and Romanism, has again broken out,—and when, even in the Evangelical Church itself, there is a combat between parties involving the very right of each other's existence, an attempt to set down clearly and conclusively fundamental and distinctive doctrines needs no apology. Many who formerly perhaps thought that they had no cause to busy themselves with such searching questions will now feel their need to make themselves better acquainted with the principles and doctrines of the Christian Churches, since they may, as officials of the State or of the Church, or as representatives of the people or of congregations, have to decide or at least give their votes on ecclesiastical matters. By such people a thorough and objective explanation of the confessional doctrines founded on the Creeds and Symbolical books themselves will be valued, and such a work this is intended to be.

It seemed necessary to add a short account of the characteristics of the most important sects, because, since

Freedom of Religion has become a fundamental principle in the constitution of all civilised States, they have gained a greater importance and more significance than formerly.

It may be doubtful whether the scholastic form of this exposition will please all readers, but at any rate it will be welcome to such as wish for a compendium on the Symbolical Books.

BERLIN, 22*nd May* 1878.

PREFACE TO THE SECOND AND THIRD EDITIONS

As this little work has found friendly acceptance with students as a compendium of the Creeds and Confessions, we trust that this new thoroughly revised (though essentially unaltered) edition will be useful to many.

BERLIN, *December* 1888 *and March* 1893.

TRANSLATOR'S PREFACE

THERE are several very able works on the Creeds, such as those of Lumby and Swainson, to which I would refer those who wish a fuller account than can be given in a small manual like the present. I am unaware however of any work that gives such a full account of the Confessions or *Libri Symbolici*, or such a clear explanation of the doctrines which divide the Churches and sects. I will therefore offer no apology for introducing to English readers the work of Professor Gumlich. It is written in a thoroughly impartial spirit—at least, as impartial as is possible for one with prepossessions of his own.

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PART I

CHURCH CREEDS

CHAPTER I

ORIGIN, CONCEPTION, AND AUTHORITY OF THE CREEDS

JESUS OF NAZARETH proclaimed the Gospel of Love and of the Kingdom of God, and manifested in His life and sufferings the consciousness of the Fatherhood of God. According to this revelation His disciples formed a church. *Jesus is the Messiah* (*the Christ promised to the Jews*), *the Lord who liveth and will come again to set up His Kingdom.* This was *the first confession*, which was sufficient for the original communities who sprung up on Jewish soil (Acts II. 36). Baptism followed the confession of faith in Jesus Christ or the Lord (Acts X. 48). When the new religion, by the activity of St. Paul, entered into heathen circles, the confession *Jesus Christ the Son of God is the Saviour of all men* became the watchword of the heathen-christian communities.

When, however, the Jewish-Christian, the Paulinist and Hellenistic Alexandrinian Churches, which had at first opposing tendencies, united together, and from their common strife against the Gnostics, Ebionites, and other parties, had developed into the *Catholic Church* with its *Episcopal* government, the simple acknowledgment of Jesus as the Christ and the Son of God no longer sufficed. The essential tenour of the Christian faith in opposition to heathenism and to heretical sects was comprised shortly in

the rule of faith (*regula fidei*) which was highly esteemed as παράδοσις ἀποστολική and used principally as the confession at baptism and as a rule of truth (κανὼν τῆς ἀληθείας) in doctrinal disputes. It must at first have been communicated only verbally and in accordance with the Catholic *Tradition.*

Its written record since the end of the fourth century shows the essential agreement of the rules of faith which were in use in the various Churches, just as much as the variety in expressions and additions.

Fifty different editions of it have been counted. The original text of the oldest formula was Greek, as is proved by the oldest traces of its existence in Justin Martyr and Polycarp. The Roman form in the Sacramentarium of Gelasius (about A.D. 500) runs thus: 'Credo in Deum, patrem omnipotentem, et in Jesum Christum, filium ejus unicum, dominum nostrum, natum et passum, et in Spiritum Sanctum, Sanctam Ecclesiam, remissionem peccatorum, carnis resurrectionem.' The formula which, according to Rufinus (died 410 A.D.), was used in Aquileia, was 'Credo in Deo, patre omnipotente, invisibili et impassibili.[1] Et in Christo Jesu, unico filio ejus, dom. n. qui natus est de Spiritu Sancto ex Maria Virgine, crucifixus sub Pontio Pilato et sepultus, descendit in inferna, tertia die resurrexit a mortuis, ascendit in coelos, sedet ad dextram Patris: inde venturus est judicare vivos et mortuos. Et in spiritu sancto, sanctam ecclesiam, remissionem peccatorum, hujus carnis resurrectionem.' The Eastern form is distinguished principally by the commencing words: πιστεύομεν εἰς ἕνα θεόν—καὶ εἰς ἕνα κύριον κ.τ.λ.

When at last the Christian religion became the prevailing one in the Roman Empire, and the episcopal government with the institution of synods under the authority of the state had attained general acceptance, the rules of faith which at the time of the great Christological doctrinal disputes since the fourth century had been

[1] The addition *impassibili* was made in opposition to the doctrine of the Patripassioners (that the Father suffered).

extended into *Confessions or Symbols of the Orthodox Faith* were considered equivalent to laws of Church and State. The older creeds (Apostles', Nicene, and Athanasian), which were generally accepted in the West, are called *symbola oecumenica*, a designation which is incorrect in so far that the whole Greek Church acknowledges neither the so-called Apostles' nor the Athanasian creed.

The later ones, which, caused by the divisions in the Church, are mostly extensive confessional writings, are called *symbola particularia.*

Σύμβολον (συμβάλλω) is in classical diction sign by which something is settled, a memorandum, a token, for example for judges, for a host's friends (*tessera hospitalis*), for partakers in the mysteries; then also a *concerted sign*, as, for example, a soldier's watchword (generally σύνθημα), and a *symbol*, the emblematical representation of an idea. Christian writers used this word next as a designation of the sacraments, the visible signs of the invisible grace, and at the same time as means of recognition and union of Christians in their separation from the Jews and the heathen. Later on, the *baptismal confession* was in fact called *symbolum*; it is thus in Cyprian and Athanasius. With this latter use is connected the significance of 'Confession of Faith,' in which sense we here use it. We call the Confessions of Faith church symbols, because they are the *outer* signs of the inner faith in which the members of the Church feel themselves spiritually connected, and *signs of separation* of Christians from all non-Christians, and from those who understand otherwise the Apostolic doctrine and Scripture, at the same time the watchword by which the members of a church are known to each other.

In the Roman and Greek Churches the Symbols (Creeds) have retained their legal authority.

According to the Evangelical view as it is expressed in the *Formula Concordiae*, Creeds are 'not *judges*, as is holy scripture, but only *witnesses* and *explanations* of the faith, according to the way at any time holy scripture has

been understood and expounded in disputed points by those then living, and as opposing doctrines have been cast aside and condemned.'[1] It is certainly stated in another passage of the *Formula* (*R.* 637) that the definition of the creeds may be a public and sure witness, not only for those now living, but for posterity, this *is* and *must be* the Church's unanimous opinion and judgment on disputed points. And thus, even in the Evangelical Churches, the legal acceptation of the creeds as *norma normata*, the scripture being as the *norma normans*, became soon the prevailing one. Even the Augsburg Religious Peace of 1555 was really concluded on the legal base of the Augsburg Confession, so that it was thought necessary to guard against any deviation. It is only in more modern times that their *historical* estimate has been generally extended.

Freedom of conscience originally demanded by Protestants was in practice completely given up by the strict doctrinal discipline which the doctrinal formula of the new church made again as a binding law. The legal authority of the 'Concordienbuch' was maintained with severity by the princes of the country as *summi episcopi*, and in Saxony and other places the declaratory oath of faith in it was demanded of ministers of the church and of schools. In the beginning of the seventeenth century the Elector, John Sigismund of Brandenburg, removed its binding force on account of the attacks in it against the Calvinists. A little later George Calixt (who died in 1656), the theologian of Helmstadt, contended against the necessity of the symbolic books, and especially against their unconditional obligation. The authority, however, of the Lutheran symbols became still greater. They were declared to be divinely inspired, and produced a '*Symbolatrie*' or creed-worship, against which the pious Ph. J. Spener (1635-1705) expressly protested. He ascribed to the confessional writings only a relative importance, denied their

[1] 'Symbola non obtinent auctoritatem judicis: haec enim dignitas solis sacris literis debetur.'—*Concil. R.* 572.

inspiration and infallibility, and held their subscription admissible with the proviso *quatenus* cum scriptura sacra consentiunt (as far as they agree with scripture), although as far as he himself was concerned he would not hesitate to subscribe with *quia* (=because). Pietism awoke again the consciousness that Christianity in its essence was not a dogma but a moral force of life which could be effective even with an incomplete dogmatic knowledge.

As the pietism of the school of Spener was succeeded in the eighteenth century by the 'Aufklärung,' enlightenment and rationalism, there arose a more decided opposition to the obligation of the symbolical books, for the authority of which Chief Pastor Götze of Hamburg contended in vain. Even the Prussian Religious Edict of Minister Wöllner (1788), by which all the clergy who dissented from the symbolical doctrinal clauses were threatened with dismissal and more severe punishments, could not withstand the general tendency of the time which demanded freedom of faith and doctrine. With the succession to the throne of Frederick William III. (in 1797) it lost its value, as the king declared that religion did not require compulsory laws, but was an *affair of the heart*, and with its inseparable companions Reason and Philosophy existed in a nation of itself without needing the authority of those who wished to arrogate to themselves the right of imposing their doctrines on future ages. Since then Herder and Schleiermacher have ably and successfully shown that Religion has its origin and its seat in *pious feeling* in opposition to the one-sided prominence given to Reason by the 'Aufklärung' party.

In the second decade of this century, after the wars for liberation, a new *ecclesiastical* spirit moved in Evangelical Germany. From a few voices, as, for example, from that of Pastor Harms in Kiel in 1817, there was demanded a restoration of the authority of the church creeds. However, the establishment of the union of Lutheran and Reformed Churches in several German States (it took place in Prussia in 1817) led to the putting aside of doctrinal disputes: the symbolical separative doctrines were to lose their power of breaking up the Church. Ecclesiastical union was to be sought, not in dogmatic formulae, but in 'the spirit of the holy founder of the Church, in the spirit of self-denying love;' in place of confessional churches there was to be a 'newly resuscitated evangelical Christian Church.' The union, however, and the agenda defined for its carrying out, met with a determined opposition, more especially in Prussia, among orthodox Lutherans, and this did not remain without an important, principally an opposing, influence on the

development of the *united* Church, which, according to its origin and being, may not demand an obligation to an amount of fixed dogmas, but only the *acknowledgment of the Scripture of the New Testament as a source of knowledge of Christian truth and of the principles of the Reformation.*

The repeated separations that have taken place among the Lutheran Churches of Germany and of North America who have remained faithful to the Confession show to demonstration that unity in confessions affords no surety of unity of spirit.

The authority of confessions was always less in the Reformed Churches than in the Lutheran. Even in the beginning of the seventeenth century the Arminians in Holland, and soon after the so-called Latitudinarians in the Episcopal Church of England, among whom were bishops and famous theologians, declared against the weakening of freedom of doctrine and of faith by creeds. A free position towards the creeds was taken up more and more in other reformed communities, as in France, Germany, and in Switzerland, and especially the fundamental dogma of predestination was placed more and more in the background. The strife of parties in more modern times, even within the Reformed Church, was carried on much less with regard to the authority of creeds than on account of the authority of scripture.

CHAPTER II

OECUMENICAL CREEDS

I

A. *The Apostles' Creed.*

THE so-called Apostles' Creed (in Luther's Catechism the three articles of the Christian faith) was not composed by the apostles themselves.[1] It is rather an enlargement of the short baptismal confession which was closely connected with the baptismal formula (Matt. XXVIII. 19) which came into general use since the second century of the Christian era. Each clause of the confession extended to a rule of faith has an antithetical relation to heretical doctrines or to separatist principles.

Αἵρεσις was originally a name for a philosophical school or its party opinions. Since the time of Irenaeus the name of heretic was given to those who, instead of yielding obedience to the doctrine

[1] The view of Rufinus, who declares this creed, in consequence of a misunderstanding of the Greek expression, as a *collatio apostolorum* (drawn up *conferendo in unum*) has been given up as quite untenable since the Reformation. The cause, however, may have been in the division of the creed into twelve articles as it is found in the *Catechismus Romanus*.

[Lumby states that the exact words of this creed 'first occur in the creed given by Pirminius, A.D. 750,' and that 'this date may therefore be assigned to the first appearance of the Apostolic Creed in its present form.'

J. R. Lumby, D.D., *History of the Creeds*, Camb. 1880, p. 171.

He sums up as follows:—

'In the Western Churches the 'creed used for the first 250 years was of a very short and simple form. It was in the two hundred years extending from A.D. 250 to A.D. 450 that the Apostolic Creed received its greatest additions. . . . It was not for three hundred years or more after the death of St. Augustine that the creed was expanded to its full dimensions.'—*History of the Creeds*, pp. 172-3.—T.]

of the Catholic and Orthodox Church, philosophised on God and divine things according to their own judgment, or to those who followed heterodox (that is Gnostic) opinions, while schismatic (separatistae) was applied to those who separated from the Catholic Church on account of questions of Church government and Church discipline. The Gnostic docetic heresy gave a special reason for a further extension of the baptismal creed, and there was added to the first article the clause, 'Maker of heaven and earth,' and to the second the acknowledgment of the God-man and of the facts of the gospel history, and to the third the 'resurrection of the body.' In opposition to the Montanist, Novatian, and Donatist schisms there were added in the third article, 'sanctam ecclesiam catholicam, sanctorum communionem, remissionem peccatorum.' The later clause in the second article, 'descendit ad inferna' (*i.e.* to Hades), was intended at first only to strengthen the reality of the death of Jesus in opposition to the Docetists, but it soon became the starting point of mythological representations, which were retained even by Luther and in the *Formula Concordiae.*

In the first centuries we find the Creed as given above (page 4) in various forms. The complete one (*Textus receptus*), as it is now used in the Evangelical Churches at baptisms and confirmations, came to light first in the middle of the fifth century as the baptismal creed of the Church of South Gaul. It extended itself over France, and was then at last accepted by Rome, where it took the place of the Constantinopolitan Creed, which, ever since the sixth century, had replaced the shorter Roman creed (page 4). It then attained as the 'Apostles' Creed' exclusive acknowledgment in the whole Western Church, having been spread in Germany by Boniface. The Greek Church, however, declared that they knew of no 'Apostles' Creed' in their traditions, and held to the formula of Nicaea and Constantinople as their baptismal confession.

The resolution of the Prussian General Synod of 1846 to replace the creed for liturgical use by a shorter confession, retaining only what was essential, was never carried out. In several established churches the liturgical use of the Apostles' Creed is only voluntary.

B. *The Nicene or Constantinopolitan Creed.*

This creed is an extension of the Eastern baptismal confession which was necessitated by the Arian controversies. In the first oecumenical synod of Nicaea (A.D. 325),

the homoousion, that is, the equality of the Son with the Father (ὁμοούσιος τῷ πατρί), was determined, and in the Nicene Creed, by additions in the second article, raised to the confession of the orthodox Church. The third article was limited to the words καὶ εἰς πνεῦμα ἅγιον.

In the second oecumenical council at Constantinople (A.D. 381) there were added to the Nicene Creed (S. Nic. Constant.) the clauses in the third article, 'Who proceedeth from the Father, and with the Father and the Son is worshipped and glorified,' by which the orthodox doctrine of the Holy Ghost was assured against Macedonius.

Between the words of the third article, 'qui ex patre procedit,' the definition 'et filio' was inserted at the Council of Toledo (A.D. 589), and this clause was accepted in the West, first in the Frankish and later in the Romish Church. In the later contests for precedence between the Romish and Constantinopolitan Patriarchs, the accusation of having falsified the creed and of the sin against the Holy Ghost, was raised on the part of the Greeks against the Romish Church, because they thus altered the confession. On account of their antagonism to the 'altered' Nicene-Constantinopolitan formula, the Eastern Church returned to the older Nicene, which is used by them to this day as their baptismal creed.

C. *The Athanasian Creed, or the 'Quicunque Vult.'*

The Athanasian Creed was not written by the Church Father whose name it bears, but was published first in Latin about the end of the fifth century, probably by Vigilius of Thapsus who wrote it under the name of Athanasius, in opposition to the Arian Vandals and the Eutychians.

The introduction and conclusion of this creed make the holding of the Church's belief a necessity of salvation. The first part contains the doctrine of the Trinity in its strictest sense, as it was developed by Augustine in his sermon '*de trinitate.*' The unity

of being of the three persons, who are only distinguished by the predicates *ingenitus*, *genitus a patre*, and *procedens a patre et filio*, is most stringently emphasised. The other part treats of the person of Christ, that is of the relation of the divine and human nature of Christ, according to the definitions of the fourth oecumenical Council at Chalcedon (A.D. 451), which condemned 'Monophysitism as well as Nestorianism,' and maintained that the two natures were united in Christ, *unmixed* and *unchanged*, *undivided* and *inseparable*.

This creed was first generally adopted only in the churches of Spain and Gaul. It attained to its greatest estimation in the West later, after the disputes with the Greeks on the Procession of the Holy Ghost. It has found no place in the Liturgy of the Lutheran Church.[1]

Besides these three creeds, the Western Church also accepts the conclusions (*capitula*) of the Provincial Synod of Orange (A.D. 529), which acknowledged in its fundamental principles the Augustinian doctrine of Sin and Grace, in opposition to Pelagianism and Semipelagianism on the one side, and to the evil results of the doctrine of predestination (*praedestinatio ad malum*) on the other. The complete and unlimited effectiveness of divine grace was established without more special definitions on the irresistibility of grace or the absoluteness of predestination in regard to the elect and the non-elect. Anathema was pronounced against those who taught predestination to evil.

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[1] According to Professor Lumby this creed was considered as a sermon, and principally intended for the priests. Thomas Aquinas (1250) testified that its original design was not that of a symbol. Two English bishops, while recommending it to their clergy, styled it a psalm (*History of the Creeds*, p. 267).—T.

CHAPTER III

CREEDS PECULIAR TO THE GREEK OR ORIENTAL CHURCH

THE doctrine of the Greek Church has experienced no real change since John of Damascus, who died A.D. 754. He was the defender of the worship of pictures against iconoclastic emperors, and in his ἔκδοσις ἀκριβὴς τῆς ὀρθοδόξου πίστεως expounded it according to Scripture and to the definitions of oecumenical councils. The Greek Church has taken no part in the sharply defined and scholastic development of dogma in the West; for it has clung to the ancient tradition, and resisted all modernisation, while the Catholicism of the Roman Church has continually developed.

The disputes between the Latin and Greek Churches were at times involved in doctrinal differences (as, for example, in the monotheletic and iconoclastic ones), but fundamentally they were the results of the fact that the Emperor and Patriarch of Constantinople did not wish to acknowledge the primacy and jurisdiction of the Roman Bishop. Even the strife between the Patriarch Photius (who died A.D. 891) of Constantinople and the Roman Pope, Nicholas I., attained no dogmatic result, unless we consider as such the rejection of the *Filioque* on the part of the Greeks. Otherwise it treated only of Roman customs, such as fasting on Saturday, shortening of the great fasts, rejection of confirmation performed by Presbyters, and the forbidding of the marriage of priests, and in the strife caused by Michael Caerularius which preceded the schism of the Church in A.D. 1054, about the unleavened bread at the Lord's Supper (Azymitae).

When Sultan Mohammed II. in 1453 took Constantinople he demanded of the Patriarch Gennadius an explanation

of the chief doctrines of the Christian Church. This patriarch then composed a *Confession of Faith* in twenty chapters, which, however, contained only a general exposition of Christian doctrine, without showing what distinguished the Greeks from the Latins.

A more decidedly confessional character and more general ecclesiastical acknowledgment was possessed by the Confession of Faith drawn up by Peter Mogilas, Metropolitan of Kiew. It was occasioned on one side by the successful labours of the Jesuits in drawing over to the Roman side a portion of the clergy in the western provinces of Russia, and on the other by the Calvinising confession of the Patriarch of Constantinople, *Cyrillus Lucaris* (who died A.D. 1638). This confession was sanctioned in 1643 by the five Greek orthodox patriarchs of Constantinople, Alexandria, Antioch, Jerusalem, and Moscow, as ὁμολογία τῆς ὀρθοδόξου πίστεως τῆς καθολικῆς καὶ ἀποστολικῆς ἐκκλησίας. It was accepted by Peter the Great and included in the Russian Church Canons of 1723.

It consists of three divisions in catechetical form, of which the first, περὶ πίστεως, treats in twelve articles of the creed of the two first oecumenical synods (among other things of the rejection of purgatory and the withdrawal of the cup). The second, περὶ ἐλπίδος, treats of the Lord's prayer and of the nine beatitudes, and the third, περὶ τῆς εἰς θεὸν καὶ τὸν πλησίον ἀγάπης, on Christian virtues and good works, prayer, fasts and alms, on the Cardinal virtues, the various kinds of sin, and lastly on the Decalogue.

Finally, at the synod of Jerusalem in 1672, the confession of the Patriarch Dositheus was accepted. This confession is also decidedly opposed to the evangelising confession of Cyril Lucaris.

CHAPTER IV

CREEDS PECULIAR TO THE ROMAN CATHOLIC CHURCH

THE strife between the Romish and the Evangelical Church was concerned principally with Christian Anthropology and Soteriology, or the doctrines of Sin and Grace and Salvation, on which neither the ancient Church nor that of the middle ages had made any positive confessional affirmation. In spite of the high estimation in which Augustine was held, Pelagianism was more and more dominant in the practice of the church, and later even the doctrine of sin and conversion was formed by the Schoolmen more in accordance with the sense of Aristotle than with that of Augustine. The reforming opposition of the Evangelicals compelled the Roman Church to form fixed resolutions on these doctrines. This took place at the council of Trent, which was opened December 13, 1545, and concluded in 1563 at that town, having been held at Bologna from 1547 to 1551, and interrupted from 1552 to 1562.

The decrees (*de reformatione* and *de doctrina*) and the canons, which are short statements of the opposing doctrines, and are followed by the *anathema sit* of this Council, are the chief source for the knowledge of the Roman Catholic doctrine in opposition to heterodox Protestantism, especially in regard to the doctrines on scripture and tradition, on hereditary sins and justification, on purgatory, indulgence, fasting, etc. The synod, for precaution's sake, did not define the doctrine of the Church and its head. The

confirmation of the Tridentine resolution by the head of the Church followed in 1564 by the Confirmation Bull of Pius IV. The decision of disputed cases arising out of the explanation of the conclusions was reserved for the Pope.

In the same year Pius IV. issued a *forma juramenti professionis fidei*, which is generally called the *professio fidei Tridentinae*, an oath for priests, monks, academical teachers, and converts. For the instruction of the people and of the young, catechisms were written, that of the Jesuit P. Canisius in 1554 being mostly used. The Council of Trent had handed over its opportunity of making a catechism to the Pope. Under the authority of Pius V. there appeared in 1566 the *Catechismus Romanus*, which is not, however, a book for children, but a catechetical handbook for pastors. In the first Roman editions the text was not divided into questions and answers.

This catechism consists of four parts: 1. *de symbolo* (an explanation of the Apostles' Creed divided into 12 articles). 2. *De sacramentis* (generally and also specially on baptism, confirmation, the eucharist, penance, extreme unction, order, matrimony). 3. *De decalogo*. 4. *De oratione* (on prayer in general and on the Lord's Prayer in particular). In the main it agrees with the Tridentine Decrees, but enlarges on many doctrines, and treats also of things omitted therein such as the *limbus patrum* and especially of the Pope.

Since then the Papal System, or System of the Curia, which asserts the unrestrained power and infallibility of the Roman Bishop in matters of Faith, is considered as orthodox. According to this, universal authority belongs to the Bulls of the Pope which he has issued *de cathedra* for the settlement of doctrinal disputes within the Roman Church (as for example the Bull of Innocent II. of 1643 against the five propositions of Jansen, a defender of

Augustinian doctrine against openly advanced Semi-pelagianism, and against the morality of the Jesuits, and the *Constitutio Unigenitus* of Clement XI. of 1713, in which 101 of the sentences in the New Testament of the Jansenist Quesnel were condemned), while the Episcopalians defended the superiority of the Councils above the Pope, and asserted that only general rules of faith could be settled by a council representing the whole church. This opposition to the system of the Curia was deprived of all justification by the dogma of the 'Infallibility of the Pope' in regard to faith and morals, which was decided by the Vatican Council at the instigation of the Jesuits on the 18th of July 1870.

This dogma has retrospectively given the effect of a creed to all papal Bulls, as for example even to those of Boniface VIII., *Clericis laicos* and *Unam sanctam*,[1] as also to the *In coena Domini* of Urban VIII. of 1627, in which, by the side of pirates, robbers, and enemies of the Church, Lutherans, Zwinglians, Calvinists, etc. are condemned.

That the papacy of the present time continues on its course of dogma-making without the authority of, and even against, Scripture, is proved by the proclamation of the doctrine of the Immaculate Conception of the Virgin, on December 8th, 1854.

It is self-evident that the Missale Romanum, and the Breviarium, as well as ecclesiastical practice are all of importance for a full conception of the Roman Catholic System. Cardinal Bellarmine, a Jesuit who died A.D. 1621, is considered the chief dogmatic apologist or exponent of Roman orthodoxy. In an encyclical of the year 1879, Leo XIII. has promoted Thomas Aquinas, who died A.D. 1274, to be the teacher and patron of all Universities, Academies, and Schools.

[1] In this Bull every one is declared a heretic who does not believe that the Pope has authority both in *spiritual* and *worldly* things. 'Subesse Romano pontifici *omni* humanae creaturae declaramus esse de necessitate salutis.'

CHAPTER V

SPECIAL SYMBOLICAL BOOKS OF THE EVANGELICAL OR LUTHERAN CHURCH

THE principal confession of the Evangelical Church as generally acknowledged is the *Augsburg Confession.*

After the transactions of the German Imperial Council at Spires, A.D. 1529, concluded by a dismissal which occasioned a protest by the Evangelical States and an appeal to the Emperor and a general council, conventions were held by the Protestants in Rotbach and Schwabach, which were without any result, as the doctrinal differences, especially with regard to the Lord's Supper, prevented all agreements between the Saxons and the Upper Germans. In order to obviate these differences, the Landgrave, Philip of Hesse, appointed a religious conference of the Wittenbergers with Zwingli to be held at Marburg in the first days of October 1529, at which Luther drew up in writing the parallel points in fourteen articles and a fifteenth which was disputed, concerning the Lord's Supper. These fifteen articles were subscribed by the theologians present at the conference. At the request of the Elector of Saxony, seventeen articles, which were intended to form the religious basis of the Union about to be concluded, were laid before the Oberland ambassadors for signature without any further consideration at the second convention

of Schwabach (October 16, 1529). This, however, the ambassadors refused, as they had not been authorised to do so. These Articles of Schwabach are an edition drawn up by Luther himself of the Marburg agreement. At the Convention at Schmalkald (November 29, 1529) the signature to the seventeen Schwabach Articles was demanded of, and given by, all the members. Now, when the Emperor Charles v. summoned from Bologna (January 21, 1530) an imperial council to meet at Augsburg on April 8th, 1530, at which the various religious opinions were to be heard and considered, and, if possible, harmony to be again restored, he demanded that the states should put in writing and hand in their 'sentiments, opinions, and intentions' concerning religion, in German and in Latin. The Elector John of Saxony (on the 14th March 1530), commissioned Luther, Jonas Bugenhagen, and Melanchthon to draw up in the shortest time possible the Articles concerning not only Faith, but also *external church customs and ceremonies* which had been disputed. In the Schwabach Articles the ceremonies were only lightly touched upon in articles 15 to 17. Hence the theologians handed to the Elector at Torgau, besides the Schwabach Articles, 'a memorial to point out to His Imperial Majesty what related to ceremonies and what was dependent on them.' The Schwabach Articles on Doctrines united with this memorial on disputed outward customs form the *Torgau Articles*. At Augsburg Melanchthon worked out on the base of the Torgau Articles the Confession which was to be laid before the Emperor and the States of the Empire. In this he made use in the first part (articuli fidei) of the Schwabach Articles, the author of which was really Luther,

while the second part (articuli de abusibus) was his own composition.

Luther, to whom the Elector had sent the articles to Coburg for him to look over, replied on May 15th, 'I have read over Master Philip's Apologia,' as the confession was then called, 'it pleases me very well, and I know not how to improve or alter any of it, but I would not send it; as I cannot tread so softly and gently'; and on the 3rd of July he wrote to Melanchthon, 'Relegi heri tuam Apologiam diligenter totam et placet vehementer.' The Confession was *signed* by the Elector, John of Saxony, the Margrave, George of Brandenburg, Duke Ernest of Lüneberg, the Landgrave, Philip of Hesse, Prince Wollgang of Anhalt, and the towns of Nuremberg and Reutlingen.

The solemn reading of this confession (in German by the Saxon Chancellor Bayer) took place on the 25th of June in the chapel of the Imperial Lodging in the Episcopal Palatinate. The German and the Latin copies were handed to the Emperor, who gave over the first to the Elector of Menz to be preserved in the Imperial archives, the other was to be sent to Brussels. The originals of both were, as it seems, soon lost, and in spite of the most diligent search never again found.

The Augsburg Confession embraces the real fundamental points of the Evangelical Doctrine in the first twenty-one *Articles*, which, with the exception of the 1st, 14th, and 16th, all relate to the *Christian Doctrine of Redemption.* As the hope of a settlement of the disputes was not yet given up by the Evangelical States, the chief importance was laid on the agreement of Evangelical doctrine with Scripture and with the belief of the *ancient* church. An *apologetic* tendency is specially to be observed through the whole. In order to put aside all unfavourable representations of the new doctrine, and especially to obviate any reproaches as to heresy, the sayings of the Fathers are in preference quoted, and the errors of all heretics, especially of sects formed since the beginning of the Reformation, are expressly

condemned. On the other hand, in order to render a reconciliation in every way easier, the errors of the then Roman Church to be opposed were never expressly stated as the opinions of the opposite party, and the confession retains for the most part the usual dogmatic formulae.

The Confession, having in its first article been based on the Trinitarian foundation of the faith of the Ancient Church, the Protestant consciousness, having not yet felt itself injured or narrowed by the Trinitarian and Christological dogmatic formulæ, starts off in the second article into a polemical position towards Roman Theology. In order to eradicate the thoughts of all justification from works, the deep depravity of human nature is shown in the 12th article (*de peccato originis*), and in the 3rd article (*de filio Dei*) the merits of Christ are extolled so as to lay the foundation for the doctrine of justification by faith in Article 4 (*de justificatione*). The 5th and 6th articles (*de ministerio ecclesiastico* and *de nova obedientia*) treat of the means of grace which lead to faith and to the good works which adorn it as fruits thereof. Thus the objective ground of Christian salvation, and the kind and manner of appropriating it to one's-self, the way by which sinful man may attain to a reconciliation with God are expounded in the first articles. Those which follow relate to the Church, her sacraments and ordinances, her relation to the State, her final triumph. According to articles 7 and 8 (*de ecclesia* and *quid sit ecclesia?*) to the essence of the Church belong only preaching of the gospel, and the right administration of the sacraments, the efficiency of which depends not on the worthiness of the officiating persons, but on the precepts of Christ himself.

Articles 9 and 10 (*de baptismo* and *de coena Domini*) treat of the Evangelical sacraments, 11, 12, and 13 of confession, of repentance, and of the (right) use of the sacraments. What the Evangelicals understand by Church government, and what value they place on Church ordinances (*ritibus ecclesiasticis*) are taught in the 14th and 15th articles, while No. 16 (*de rebus civilibus*) fixes the origin and right of civil government. In the 17th, 'of the coming again of Christ for judgment,' Millenirianism is overthrown. In the last of the doctrinal articles are discussed the doctrine of freewill (18), origin of sin (19), faith and good works (20), and worship of the saints (21).

In the following seven on *Abuses*, it was impossible to avoid direct opposition to the Church of Rome. They relate to the administration of the Lord's supper *sub utraque specie*, the marriage of priests, the abrogation of private and secret masses, the abolition of the binding force of special penances, of rules of fasting, of monastic vows, and lastly the bounds which it was considered necessary to place to the unlimited spiritual power of the bishops.

Melanchthon edited in A.D. 1531 the Confession both in German and Latin. His improvements in style in the later editions up to 1539 gave no offence; on the other hand the various alterations in the Latin text of 1540 (especially those in the 10th article[1] (*de coena Domini*) which were intended to lessen the opposition to the *reformed* doctrine) caused great contentions in the Evangelical Church. Since then a distinction has always been made between the *Invariata* of 1530 and the *Variata* of 1540. In more modern times it has been proposed to make the altered Augsburg Confession a creed for Union.

The Apology for the Augsburg Confession.

The apology for the Augsburg Confession contains a thorough explanation and proof of the 'Augustana' for the

[1] Instead of 'vere adsint et distribuantur vescentibus' there was put 'vere exhibeantur vescentibus,' and the rejection of the Swiss doctrine ('et improbant secus docentes') was omitted.

purpose of refuting the 'Confutation,' which had been drawn up by the order of the Emperor at Augsburg by the Romish Theologians (Eck, Faber, Wimpina, Cochlaeus), and read on the 3rd of August 1530 at the Reichstag. Melanchthon's answer to it, and his short defence of the Augsburg Confession, was not accepted by the Emperor. Melanchthon therefore worked at his apology after the conclusion of the Reichstag, in order to make it more complete, and printed it in 1531. (The German text is by Justus Jonas.)

In the Apology, those articles only of the Augsburg Confession were thoroughly examined and defended which had been either objected to or rejected by their opponents; thus, for instance, Article 2 (*de peccato originali*), 4 (*de justificatione*, with a supplement *de dilectione et impletione legis*), 7 and 8 (*de ecclesia*), 12 (*de poenitentia* in connection with an excursus *de confessione et satisfactione*), 15 (*de traditionibus humanis in ecclesia*), and 21 (*de invocatione sanctorum*). The *Articuli abusuum* were also exhaustively treated, with the exception of the 4th and 5th (*de confessione* and *de discrimine ciborum*), the subjects of which had already been discussed in the 12th and 15th articles.

This confessional writing is a mine of genuine Evangelical doctrine, and an armoury for battle against Roman errors.

The Articles of Schmalkald.

'Such answers as ought to have been given on our part at the council of Mantua, or wherever else it may have been held, and what we could or could not accept or reject, written by Dr. M. Luther, 1537.'

On the pressure of the Emperor, the Pope Paul III. at last summoned a council in 1536 for the following year, to be held at Mantua. The Evangelicals met at a numerous assembly at Schmalkald in the beginning of the year 1537, and discussed the question whether they should take part in it or not, and resolved that owing to the conditions imposed by the Emperor and the Pope, they would refuse.

Even before this the Saxon Elector, John Frederick, had commissioned Luther, in case the Council should be held, to draw up a memorial on the disputed doctrines, in which it would be sufficiently determined how much could be yielded to the Romans, and as to what doctrines must be thoroughly insisted on. Luther drew up 'the Articles of Christian Doctrine' in German, and laid them before the meeting at Schmalkald, where they were approved of by the princes and signed by the theologians.[1]

By agreement of the Princes there was also appended another treatise by Melanchthon 'on the power and supremacy of the Pope' and of the 'power and jurisdiction of the Bishops,' and this was also signed by the theologians.

Although the so-called Articles of Schmalkald were not used for their intended object, they soon received the authority of a creed. In reality, they agree thoroughly with the Augsburg Confession, but they give to the Evangelical doctrine a sharper polemical expression. They consist of three parts: the *first* contains the non-controversial 'high articles of the Divine Majesty' of the Trinity and of the person of Christ; the *second*, those 'articles which concern the office and the work of Jesus Christ on our Redemption,' which are—

a. The doctrine of the merits of Christ and of *Justification by Faith alone.* (One cannot either soften or give up anything in this article, let heaven and earth fall or what will not remain.—Acts iv. 12; Isaiah liii. 5. And on this article depends all which we teach and love against the Pope, the devil, and the world. The material principle of the Reformation.)

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[1] Melanchthon added to his signature a moderating explanation on the Pope, 'I however hold of the Pope that, as long as he will allow the gospel for the sake of peace and of general unity to those Christians who are under him, or in future may be under him, his superiority over the Bishops, which he has already, will also be agreed to by us *jure humano*.'

b. Of the mass as the greatest and most dreadful abomination of the Papacy.

c. Of monasteries and convents.

d. Of the Papacy which is declared to be Antichristian.

On these points there can be no submission.

The *third* division comprises articles 'on which we can treat with educated and reasonable men or among ourselves' (of sin, the law, repentance, the gospel, sacrament of the altar, the keys, confessions, excommunication, consecration and vocation, marriage of priests, of good works, monastic vows, human institutions).

Luther's Two Catechisms.

In 1527-28 Luther made a visitation of the churches and schools in Saxony and thereby convinced himself 'that the common people really knew nothing about Christian doctrines, especially in the villages, and many pastors, alas! are totally unfit and unable to teach.' He therefore determined to compile catechisms to put in the hands of pastor and people, in order that they might have a compendium of what should be taught and learnt. In the year 1529 appeared first the *larger* and shortly afterwards the *smaller* catechism or *Enchiridion.*

Both catechisms consist of five chief divisions, on the Decalogue, the Apostles' Creed, the Lord's Prayer, and instruction on Baptism and the Lord's Supper. Luther took these 'chief points' out of the mediæval popular church instruction, and in the shorter Catechism provided them with excellent short explanations. He retained the old arrangement which was subsequently altered in the *Catechismus Romanus*, which answered to the Evangelical doctrine of Redemption, according to which, man must first of all attain by the requirements of the law the painful consciousness of his sinfulness, in order to be able to

appreciate and accept with longing the announcement of the Redemption and the grace of God, and the faith which produces the spirit of childhood, which teaches him to pray with perfect confidence, and by which he is strengthened against all oppositions by means of grace—the seal of Divine grace. In the shorter Catechism there are inserted before the last division some questions on confession,[1] and as a supplement are added, 1st, The morning and evening blessing, the Benedicite, and Gratias, 2nd, the 'Haustafel' (sayings for the *three holy states*), the status ecclesiasticus, politicus and œconomicus, and, 3rd, the little manual for marriage and baptism.

The short catechism is of great importance for Lutherans as a 'layman's bible,' though of less for the determining of disputed doctrines.

The Formula of Concord.

(*Concordienformel.*)

This last and most contested creed of the Lutheran church was, as its name implies, drawn up with the intention of settling the disputes which had arisen *within* the Evangelical community, and to guard it from divisions.

Even in Luther's lifetime there was observable a difference of opinion among Evangelical theologians: while some held firmly to the decisive polemical forms of doctrine laid down by Luther, others, on the other hand, followed more the eirenical or conciliatory direction of Melanchthon (Philippists). Thus John Agricola (since 1540 court-preacher in Berlin) exaggerated the opposition between the law and gospel to the extent of *Antinomianism*. After Luther's death the theological quarrel broke out more fiercely, that is,

1 The so-called *sixth* division on the office of the keys (according to the usual acceptance by General Superintendent Knipstrov in Stralsund) was only introduced into the catechism later.

when after the unfortunate Schmalkald war Melanchthon and other theologians in the Leipzig Interim 1548 had declared many Roman Catholic customs as *non-essential* (adiaphora). (The Adiaphoristic dispute.) The avowed jealousy between Electoral and Ducal Saxony produced the violent dispute of the Wittenberg and the Jena[1] theologians both on important and unimportant doctrinal formulae (as for instance on *Synergismus*, or co-operation). In the newly founded University of Königsberg (1546), Andrew Osiander, appointed by Duke Albrecht, taught about justification in the manner of the Roman Catholics. (The Osiander Strife.) In the dispute with George Major, Nicolas Amodorf asserted 'that good works were injurious to salvation.' (The Majoristic Strife.) After Melanchthon's death (1560) discords increased. His less cautious followers in Electoral Saxony declared themselves more and more openly in favour of the Calvinistic doctrine of the Lord's supper, and were hence as Crypto-Calvinists deprived of their offices and punished severely under the Elector Augustus (1574). In order to establish more securely the pure Lutheran doctrine the Elector, with the approval of most of the evangelical princes, summoned an assembly of theologians at Torgau in 1576, under the presidency of the Tübingen Chancellor Jacob Andreä, who for a long time had worked energetically for the restoration of peace in the Church, and in union with the Brunswick Superintendent Martin Chemnitz and the Rostock theologian Chyträus brought about the so-called Swabian-Saxon 'Concordienformel.'[2] As a supplement to this a new formula was composed at Torgau, which is commonly called the *Torgic book*. This book was now sent to the evangelical states and churches for consideration, which was not always favourable. Thereupon Andreä, Chemnitz, and Nicolas Selnecker from Leipzig met at the Monastery of Bergen near Magdeburg and revised the Torgic book with regard to all the criticism that had been passed on it. Thus arose the Bergic book or *Concordienformel* which was subscribed to in the countries of the three Electors (of Saxony, of Brandenburg, and of the Palatinate) and of twenty other princes, dukes, etc. (principally in 86 regions of the Empire), by more than 8000 ministers and teachers. On the other hand the formula was not accepted in Hesse, Anhalt, in part of Holstein, Pomerania, Silesia, several Imperial towns, in Denmark,

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[1] The University of Jena was founded in 1557.

[2] This work was used by the Würtemberg and Baden theologians as a base for the composition of the shorter Maulbronn Formula.

and in Sweden; and was subsequently set aside in some States which had formerly accepted it, as for example in Brunswick and Brandenburg.

A wall of separation was fixed by this creed between the Lutheran and the German Reformed Church.

This formula consists of two divisions, of which the first (Epitome) summarily explains in 11 Articles (on hereditary Sin, Free Will, Justification by faith, Good Works, Law and the Gospel, of the third use of the law, of the Lord's Supper,[1] of the Person of Christ, His descent into Hell, of Church customs or non-essentials, of eternal providence, and election) with a supplement on other factions and sects, such as was never known to the Augsburg Confession, showing the church doctrine and rejecting false opinions, while the second (Solida Declaratio) contains an explicit theological foundation for it.

This formula is unquestionably a dialectical masterpiece, and has given impetus to the development of a new scholasticism in the Lutheran Church.

In connection with the other Symbolical books of the Lutheran Church the *Concordienformel* appeared in the *Concordienbuch* which was published at Dresden, 1580, under the authority of the Elector Augustus of Saxony and of the other states agreeing therewith.

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[1] Not only those of the Reformed Church but many Lutherans took objection to the proof of the Lutheran view of the Lord's Supper by the communicatio idiomatum (and the so-called Ubiquity of the body) of Christ as it stands in this article.

CHAPTER VI

SPECIAL SYMBOLICAL BOOKS OF THE REFORMED CHURCH

THE dogmatic differences between Zwingli and Calvin, and the variety of the political relations in the states which were subjected to the reforming influence of Switzerland, hindered the *general* acknowledgment of symbolical books within the reformed churches. The most important of the many reformed confessions, which mostly obtained authority only within the districts in which they origi nated, and often then only a passing one, are,

1. *The Confessio Tetrapolitana*,

drawn up by Martin Bucer, preacher in Strassburg, which was handed to the Emperor at the Reichstag at Augsburg, 1530, by representatives of the four imperial cities of Strassburg, Constance, Memmingen, and Lindau, these towns having on account of their inclination towards the Zwinglian doctrine of the Lord's Supper been disowned by the community of the Lutherans. The authority of this confession lasted longest in Strassburg (until 1563).

2. *The Confessio Helvetica prior*,

drawn up at Basel in the spirit of the Wittenberg agreement of concord in 1536 between the Saxon and Oberland theologians. Unfortunately, the hope of a union of the Reformed with the Lutheran Church, which was bound

up with this Confession, soon disappeared, as Calvin's system of doctrine caused new obstacles.

The chief confession of Calvinism which approached as nearly as possible to the system of Zwingli (Consensus Tigurinus) is,

3. *The Confessio Helvetica posterior,*

which at the desire of the Elector Frederick III. of the Palatinate, who was the first of the German princes to acknowledge the Calvinistic doctrine of the Lord's Supper, (1559) was drawn up by Bullinger and published at Zürich in 1566.

4. *The Heidelberg Catechism,*

written at the command of the same prince in the German language in 1562 by the Heidelberg theologians Zacharias Ursinus and Caspar Olevianus. It was introduced as a book of instruction in several reformed established churches.

It contains 129 questions to which numerous proofs are given from Scripture. The first part treats of the misery of man, the second of Redemption (of God the Father, of the Son, of the Holy Ghost, of Justification, of the Holy Sacraments), the third of *Thankfulness* (of the law and of prayer)—the doctrine of predestination is not expressly expounded.—The 92nd question gives the commandments in a different form and numbering from that of Luther's Catechism, that is to say, in accordance with the reading of Exodus xx. 2-17,[1] so that the forbidding of the worship of images forms the 2nd commandment, and the 9th and 10th of the Lutheran Catechism are reckoned as one. Thus it has come to pass that in the Reformed Confession, the usual way of numbering the commandments as generally accepted from the earliest times in the Greek Church has been adopted, while the Lutheran has retained that which has been in use in the Church of Rome since the time of St. Augustine.

[1] As in the English Church.—T.

5. *Confessio Marchica.*

This (probably composed by the Court-preacher Füssel) was the *Confession of Faith* of the Elector John Sigismund of Brandenburg, who came over to the reformed faith in 1613.

The Elector acknowledges the principal creeds and the *altered* Augsburg Confession, and declares his belief in the doctrine, 1st, of the Person of Christ (while rejecting the dogma of the ubiquity of his body), 2nd, in Baptism (while rejecting the doctrines of the condemnation of unbaptised infants and of Exorcism), 3rd, of the Holy Supper (with a recommendation of the ritual breaking of bread) and 4th, on election by grace (while rejecting the 'decretum absolutum' to condemnation) in the Calvinistic sense, but in the mildest form, and with reference to the opinion of Luther, so that the endeavour is unmistakable to show Calvinism as indeed reconcilable with the doctrine of Luther and thereby to smooth the way to a union of both churches, but against which strict Lutheranism for a long time defended itself. This Confession was accepted as a symbolical book of the Reformed Church in Brandenburg and in the Prussian territories until 1817.

6. *Confessio Gallicana.*

This confession was drawn up by an assembly of Reformed preachers in France in 1559, and presented to King Charles IX. in 1561.

Besides the Confessio Hungarica and the Confessio Belgica of 1561, may be named the Canons of the Synod of Dortrecht (1618-19) by which strict Calvinism in opposition to the Remonstrance of the moderate *Arminians*, viz: the doctrine of unconditional Predestination, was made a part of the reformed Church Doctrine. These Dortrecht resolutions were honoured as a binding creed for a long time by the Reformed Churches even outside the Netherlands.

CHAPTER VIa

SPECIAL SYMBOLICAL BOOKS OF THE CHURCH OF ENGLAND

The Thirty-nine Articles.

THESE were 'agreed upon' at a convocation held in London in 1562 under Queen Elizabeth. They were raised to a law of the Land by an Act of Parliament, 1571.

This confession is a revision of the 42 Articles drawn up by Cranmer and published in 1552 under Edward VI. The first five articles treat of the Trinity and of the Person of Christ. Articles 6 to 8 treat of the canonical books, which are enumerated, and of the œcumenical creeds. Its essence is formed by Articles 9 to 34, which treat of the doctrines of hereditary sin and of justification, of good works, of predestination and grace, of the church and of the Sacraments. The 36th article treats of the instructions for the consecration of bishops and the ordination of priests, and Article 37 confirms to the Royal supremacy in England, the unlimited sovereignty even in ecclesiastical matters, and denies to the pope all jurisdiction within the Kingdom.

The Book of Common Prayer of 1562 ranks as of confessional importance; it contains the liturgical formularies and has also received legal authority through Parliament.

[Much of the hold it has on the members of the Church of England may be the result of the beautiful language in which it is written, and for this we are indebted to Cranmer as much as the Lutheran Church is to Luther, for as Froude observes, 'His image will be seen reflected on the calm surface of the liturgy. The most beautiful portions are translations from the Breviary: yet the same prayers translated by others would not chime like church bells in the ears of the English child. The translations, and the addresses which are original, have the same silvery melody of language and breathe the same simplicity of spirit. A certain importance, though a limited

one, may be claimed for the 'Constitutions and canons ecclesiastical,' agreed upon in the Synod begun at London A.D. 1603, in the 1st year of the reign of King James in England and the 37th in Scotland. They refer to all church matters, the King's Supremacy, the church, divine service, administration of the Sacraments, ordination of ministers and their duties, schoolmasters, churchwardens, sidesmen, Ecclesiastical courts, etc. The Catechism, which has firm hold of the members of the Church of England, was composed by Bishop Overal, then Dean of St. Paul's, and agreed to by the Bishops at the Hampton Court Conference. Wheatly in his book on the Common Prayer says that its excellency consists in that here is taught 'what the whole body of Christians all the world over agrees in,' 'and though it may not be thought right by some, as in the Doctrine of the Sacraments, it is so worded that all sorts of Christians may subscribe to everything that is here taught.'—T.]

CHAPTER VI B

SPECIAL SYMBOLICAL BOOKS OF THE CHURCH OF SCOTLAND.

The Westminster Confession, etc.

[It seems strange that Scotland should come to England for her symbolical books; it is, however, none the less true, for her principal confession is that of Westminster. This confession was drawn up at an Assembly of Divines, which met in the Jerusalem Chamber at Westminster, July 1st, 1643, and sat for five years, six months, and twenty-two days. At that time the majority of the English Parliament were Presbyterian, and it was their hope that the united nation would continue in that faith when they appointed, in June 1643, an assembly for the reformation of religion in doctrine, worship, discipline, and government. It was attended by 121 divines and 30 laymen, 12 members (4 clerical and 8 laymen) being sent from Scotland, and their deliberations resulted in the composition of the 'Confession' and the two Catechisms, the 'Larger' and the 'Shorter.' Although the assembly comprised Episcopalians as well as Presbyterians and Independents, there was little dispute as to Doctrine; it was only when the question of Church Government came up that they could not agree. The Confession is strongly Calvinistic; it is also a clear and compact system of theology, and the shorter Catechism resembles that of Heidelberg. This confession had no hold on England, but was adopted by Scotland in 1647, and was ratified by Act of Parliament in 1649, and again in 1690. Another standard of the Church of Scotland is the 'Directory for the Publick Worship of God,' also drawn up by the Westminster Assembly, and authorised by Parliament in January 1645. These are the confessional books not only of the Church of Scotland, but of the Free, United Presbyterian, and other Presbyterian Churches, as well as of most of the Presbyterian bodies in North America.—T.]

PART II

THE DOCTRINES OF THE CREEDS

CHAPTER VII

THE OPPOSITION OF ROMAN CATHOLICISM AND EVANGELICAL PROTESTANTISM AS TO THE DOCTRINE OF THE CHURCH

A. *The Roman Doctrine of the Church.*

THE central point of the Roman Catholic System is the doctrine of the Church which has found its logical conclusion in the decrees of the latest Council on the Infallibility of the Pope.

The Professio fidei Trid. demands this acknowledgment: 'Sanctam catholicam et apostolicam Romanam ecclesiam, omnium ecclesiarum matrem et magistram agnosco, Romanoque pontifici, beati Petri, apostolorum principis, successori ac Christi vicario, veram obedientiam spondeo ac juro.' The Church, in short, is, according to the view which underlies all the Roman creeds, the visible union of all the faithful, founded by God Himself through Christ and subjected to the Bishop of Rome, as successor of St. Peter and representative of Christ—in whom the work of redemption, begun by Himself while on earth, will, under the guidance of His Spirit, be evermore carried on to its completion by means of the Episcopate founded by the apostles.

Thus we see that the chief stress is laid on the outward aspect and direction of the Church as an *institution for salvation*, in which

the mediating office of Christ is continued. The original Christian priesthood of all the faithful is annulled by the dominion of the priests and the hierarchical government, which again connects itself with Jewish conceptions and forms. The Roman Church is like a civil state, or a camp ('Ecclesiastica hierarchia est ut castrorum acies ordinata,' *Concil. Trid.* xxiii. c. 4), with its former monarchical and aristocratic government and its present absolute monarchical organisation. Unconditional obedience to the Pope and his clergy, the sacrifice of one's own conviction and submission to the Church dogmas, which extend also to the outward constitution of the Church, as well as outward participation in the sacraments, are made a duty for the laity as a condition of Church membership. The laity are merely the *object* of the activity of the Church, which consists in reality only of the clergy, and not its *substance*. The separation of the clergy from the laity and the gradation of dignities among the former is considered a divine ordinance just as much as is the authority of the state over its subjects. It is the Holy Ghost Himself who through the organs of the Church—that is, the Pope and his bishops—reveals the truth and determines the doctrine of the Church. As the interpretation of the inspired canonical scripture might be disputed, an infallible and supreme authority for exposition is necessary for the preservation of the *unity* of the faith; formerly this was to be found in the Œcumenical Council, but now in the infallible successor of St. Peter. To the *power of the keys*, which is entrusted to the bishops, belongs especially the authority for ecclesiastical law-giving and judgment.

A distinction between the empirical and the ideal Church is foreign to the Roman doctrine. The identity of the visible Church and its idea has been the outspoken fundamental view of the Roman Catholic Church since the Penance Edict of Zephyrius (about 200 A.D.). The empirical Church with its historically developed institutions and dogmas is looked upon as an immediate divine appointment. The Church in its whole outward constitution is an empire clothed with divine authority which is called to *Universal Dominion*. *Authority* and *Unity* are the essential marks of its conception, hence heresy and schism are the greatest sins, and must be contended against in all possible ways.

The proof that it is the true Church, founded by Christ Himself, is based by the Roman Church not on the agreement of its doctrine with the New Testament, but on the

pretended historical proof of the *continua successio episcoporum* which testifies to its possession of the Holy Ghost, inasmuch as the Episcopate—a continuation of the Apostolate—has *de jure divino* to uphold and govern the Church.

Formerly the Council of Bishops formed the highest inspired and infallible tribunal of the Church in matters of faith and discipline. At the Florentine Council (1439) the Primacy in the Church was adjudicated as a *divine* appointment to the Pope of Rome. The Council of Trent has in its occasional utterances ('Ipsius Dei in terris vicarii,' s. vi. c. 1), as also in its whole tenor acknowledged this primacy, and the *Prof. fidei Trid.* and the *Catechismus Romanus* have put it down as an article of faith: 'Nam cum visibilis ecclesia visibili capite egeat, ita Salvator noster Petrum universi fidelium generis caput et pastorem constituit, cum illi oves suas pascendas verbis amplissimis commendavit, ut qui ei successisset eandem plane totius ecclesiae regendae potestatem habere voluerit' (Cat. Rom. i. 9-13 [1]).

The Roman Catholics appeal to Matthew xvi. 18, 19, and to John xxi. 15 and following, in order to prove that Christ had conferred on St. Peter the primacy among the apostles, and had appointed him as His representative on earth; that by the power of divine right this primacy, with all its prerogatives, was inherited from St. Peter, who had been for the last twenty-five years of his life a bishop of Rome, by his successors in the Episcopate, and that this was absolutely necessary for the preservation of the unity of the Church: yet even down to the present time there has been a difference of opinion on the relation of the Pope to the rest of the episcopate. According to the System of the Curialists (ubi papa, ibi ecclesia), the Roman bishop was the *episcopus universalis*, who in matters of

[1] Gregory the Great (who died 604) had declared, in his contest with the patriarch of Constantinople, that every one who takes to himself the title of a *Catholic* bishop is a precursor of Antichrist.

faith was the infallible teacher of the Church in all matters of faith, all other bishops his mandatories, their authority being an outcome of his, and the councils representing the whole Church being subordinate to him, so that their resolutions must be confirmed by him, and to him alone can appeals from their decisions be made. The Episcopalists, on the other hand, asserted the divine institution and independence of the Episcopal office in the Church, and derived the papal power from the Church. According to their view the other apostles received the power of the keys at the same time with Peter, and through them all bishops, their successors. They set the general councils above the Pope, and attributed to them the highest legislative and judicial power, the Pope being infallible only when in agreement with the *whole Church.*

The Episcopalist system was set up in the fifteenth century by the Paris theologians. In France, which since the Pragmatic Sanction of 1438 had enjoyed a greater independence from the Pope, an assembly of bishops and barons in the year 1682 declared the established legal view of that country in the following four clauses (The Gallican Church liberty)—(1) Peter and his successors received power from God in spiritual things only, and not in worldly things; (2) This power is limited by the resolutions of Constance on the authority of general councils; (3) By the ancient regulations and customs of the Gallican Church; and (4) The decisions of the Pope in matters of faith are only irrevocable when the assent of the whole Church has been given to them. In Germany the suffragan bishop of Treves, J. Nic. von Hontheim, under the name of Justinus Febronius, in his book, *De statu ecclesiae et legitima potestate Romani pontificis*, 1763, defended the Kostnitz propositions with great success, but was compelled by Pius VI. in 1768 to recant. In the year 1786 the spiritual Electors of Menz, Treves, and Cologne, in assembly with the Archbishop of Salzburg at Ems, united in drawing up resolutions (the so-called Ems 'punctation,') according to which the power of the bishops was to be restored to all its ancient rights, the Pope to remain indeed as primate of the whole Church, but to lose all the prerogatives which he did not possess in the first century; appeals to Rome were forbidden; exemptions and the sending of nuncios were to be abrogated. The bishops, however, put themselves on the side of the Pope, and the movement remained without any result.

At the present day the Papal system has attained universal domination in the Roman Church. On July 18, 1870, the Vatican Council promulgated as a dogma 'that the Roman Pontiff, if in the

exercise of his office as pastor and teacher of all Christians he has defined a doctrine on Faith and Morals[1] to be held by the whole church, is absolutely, by the Divine Assistance promised him in St. Peter, endowed with that *infallibility* with which the Divine Redeemer had endowed His church in the establishing of the doctrine regarding faith and morals, and that such declarations of the Pope are unalterable (irreformabiles) of themselves, and not merely with the consent of the Church.' Thus has Roman Catholicism taken the last step in the carrying out of its hierarchical and theocratic principles.

From the 14th century the relation of the Pope to temporal matters or the secular power of princes has been very differently conceived.[2] The Episcopalists acknowledged the independence of the secular and spiritual powers. Some of the Curialists taught that the Pope possessed a *direct* authority over princes as the representative of God on earth; Bellarmine and others, on the contrary, an *indirect* one, according to his duty for the good of the Church and for the care of Souls.[3] Now however, according to the Vatican Council, even the declaration of Boniface VIII. in the Bull Unam Sanctam, that 'the obedience in *all* things of all men to the Pope is a necessary condition of salvation,' and that of Innocent IV. 'Christus non solum pontificalem sed *regalem* constituit principatum beato Petro ejusque successoribus, terreni simul ac caelestis imperii commissis habenis, quod in pluralitate clavium competenter innuitur' —are valid as the confessional doctrine of the Church.

At the enthroning of the Pope the Cardinal Deacon according to ancient custom places on his head the triple crown with the words 'Accipe tiaram, tribus coronis ornatam, et scias te esse patrem principum et regum, rectorem orbis in terra, vicarium salvatoris nostri Jesu Christi, cui est honor et gloria in saecula saeculorum, amen.' That the Papacy has not given up nor even lessened its claims of former centuries in relation to State and Society is evident

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1 That under 'Morals' is to be understood the collective life of states and peoples, corporations and individuals, is plain from the titles of the ten chapters of the Syllabus of Pius IX.

2 Formerly it was honoured on the base of the misinterpreted passage, Luke XXII. 38, that to Peter, and hence to the Pope, belong two swords, the worldly as well as the spiritual. Bernard of Clairvaux writes to Eugenius III.: Petri uterque est (gladius), alter suo nutu, alter sua manu, quoties necesse est, evaginandus.

3 The divine right of princes is repudiated; on the other hand, Bellarmine and other Jesuits taught the absolute sovereignty of the people, and the right of Revolution in the plainest terms.

from the Encyclical letter which Pius IX. sent in December 8, 1864, to all Bishops; it was accompanied by a Syllabus 'complectens principuos nostrae aetatis errores,' which claims the sole dominion of the Roman Church in all States, its coercive power over body and soul, the unconditional submission of the family, the school, and of science as well as outward politics to the priestly guardianship, and rejects the so called rights of man, freedom of conscience, of thought, and of worship, as illusions (deliramenta).[1]

The possession of the States of the Church has contributed considerably to the secularisation of the Roman Church, and this possession is raised in the 'Syllabus' (No. 76) to a matter of faith, as in regard to the doctrine *de civili Romani pontificis principatu* it is said to be the duty of 'Catholici omnes' 'firmissime retinere.' The intended dogmatism of the *dominium temporale sanctae sedis* at the Vatican was only omitted because the Scheme in question, the *constitutio dogmatica de ecclesia Christi*, did not come up for discussion.

The Greek Confession is in its fundamental view of the Church the same as the Roman, but rejects (with the exception of the so-called *united* or latinizing orthodox Slavonians, especially the Ruthenians) the *Primacy of the Pope*, and remains attached to the ancient Patriarchate and to Episcopalianism. In the Russian Church Peter I. declared himself the *Supreme Head* and in 1721 assigned the supreme direction of it to a Synod at St. Petersburg

[1] Even heretics belong to the Pope's dominion. Pius IX. wrote thereon on August 7th, 1873, to the Emperor William I.: 'I speak in order to fulfil one of my duties, which consists in this, viz. to tell the truth to everyone, even to those who are not Catholics. For everyone who has been baptized belongs in a certain relation, or in a certain manner, to explain which clearer here is not the place, belongs, I say, *to the Pope.*' The Emperor answered, September 3rd, that this assertion rests on an error: 'The evangelical faith to which I belong, as your Holiness knows, like my ancestors, with the majority of my subjects, does not allow us to accept, in our relation to God, any other mediator than our Lord Jesus Christ.'

dependent on the Emperor.[1] (Continuation of the 'Cæsaro-papism' of the Eastern Roman Emperor.) The Church of Greece is also under a synod whose members are chosen by the King.

The Servians, Roumanians, and Bulgarians have obtained their ecclesiastical as well as their national independence, and their Governments exercise great influence over Church matters.

B. The Evangelical Protestant Doctrine of the Church.

The Reformers, on the ground of the *immediate* relation of religious faith to Christ as the sole basis of salvation, and of the Divine Word being the sole source of the knowledge of salvation, protested against the Romish alienation and secularisation of the Church, as also against the conception of the outward Church as an indispensable mediation between God and Man, asserting the evangelical doctrine of the priesthood of all Christians in opposition to the assumption of authority of the priestly caste over the laity, which excluded all right of private judgment. The central point of their system is *justifying Faith* in the Divine power (experienced in one's own conscience) of the Gospel of Jesus Christ, an inward and purely spiritual process; the Supreme Court for the Evangelicals being the *testimonium spiritus sancti* in the soul reconciled to God and the *conscience* of the Christian believer.

The true Church is for the Evangelical no *politia externa*

[1] The patriarchate of Moscow, which had been acknowledged since 1599, was then raised to a third place (after those of Constantinople and Alexandria).

but 'principaliter societas fidei et spiritus sancti in cordibus.' (*Apol.* art. iv.) This inner communion is alone the body of Christ, alone '*una, sancta, catholica, apostolica, perennis.*' This 'invisible' (because spiritual) communion of faith is made manifest only when the word of the Gospel is preached in the Spirit of Jesus, and the sacraments administered in the Spirit of their Founder in order that faith may be maintained and extended (*Conf. Aug.* art. vii.). The *outward* communion is merely a consequence of the spiritual union in faith and in love, and of the need of religious edification; in short, a *secondary* one. The form and government of this visible communion is free, and consequently may vary. Their arrangements only exist *jure humano*, every ordinance being permissible which does not 'burden the conscience.' 'The necessity of a visible head of the church and a constitution binding on all Christians is denied.'[1] The so-called church power (potestas ecclesiastica) is the calling to preach the gospels and to administer the sacraments, and the spiritual power is exercised by the *Word* alone, without any rights of compulsion and jurisdiction: their former sphere of action is limited to the direction of religious opportunities for the preservation of peace in the church community; in accordance with the saying 'my Kingdom is not of this world,' it is not to interfere in anything outside its own province, in any sphere foreign to such, for instance, as secular government. The mingling of spiritual and temporal

[1] The passage Matt. xvi. 18, 19, is thus explained in the 'Tractatus de potestate et primatu papae,' (Concil. R. 345). 'The Church is not built on the power of one man, but on the office which upholds the confession of Peter, that Jesus is the Christ and the Son of God.' 'On this work, that is, on this sermon and on the preacher's office.'

power, that is, the pretentions of the papacy have only brought to the people mischief, disturbances, and wars (*Conf. Aug.* 28).

An adequate historical representation of the religious idea of Christianity is as impossible, according to protestant views, in this world as perfectly holy men. The essence of evangelical belief demands as the *foundation of all church life* the absolute independence of the inner conviction and personal *freedom of conscience*, the unconditional self-conviction and self-responsibility of the individual Christian. On this ground the Evangelicals *protested* against the resolutions of the majority of the Reichstag (at Spires in 1529) in matters of faith.[1] The evangelical church does not acknowledge a judicial decision on doctrine by virtue of a divine authority; she confides in the inward power of truth and in the spirit working in the community, but not in the authority of a visible church. The true doctrine is upheld and preserved only by the power of the Word ('sine vi humana'). A church community has no right to intrude on one of its members a doctrine which it has laid down, but only by its organs and ordinances to awaken the faith and to nurture it in its members while maintaining evangelical freedom. In ecclesiastical matters authority and law do not exist in the same sense as in matters temporal. Therewith falls all sacerdotalism, the difference between priests and laymen is done away with; no Christian needs a mediator or outward mediation in any matter that concerns his relation to God and to Christ. There is no *sacerdotium* in the evangelical church, but only a *ministerium ecclesiae*; the ministers of the Gospel are appointed by the congregation; the sacramental view of their ordination is rejected, the degrees among the church ministers are of human order; marriage is permitted to every one. Not only 'church' work, but also the family life and that of the state is of God's ordinance and belongs to God's kingdom, which reaches beyond the boundaries of 'churchdom.' An outward unity of the church is not considered necessary by Evangelicals; the church branches off into State churches and district churches. The general superintendence belongs to the divinely appointed authority, which is also entrusted by Luther with the command of the schools, with laws regarding

[1] In affairs of Religion each person must stand for himself before God, and give account; no one can excuse himself on the ground of the Resolution of others, of a majority or a minority.

marriage and with the enforcement of such laws against any one, even against the church ministers (see Luther's work, 'An den Adel deutscher Nation von des christl. Standes Besserung').

The historical development of the Reformation in Germany and in other places did not immediately bring about all these consequences of Evangelical principles. As the Lutheran church generally adhered as far as possible to the lines laid down in the Roman Catholic Church, and avoided loosening the firmly rooted connection of the Church and State in popular life, it also retained the religious constraint practised by the civil powers as 'necessity bishops,' or summi episcopi, of the territorial churches, and placed the ecclesiastical confessional system in practice above scriptural critics. From 1534 the Church government was carried on by 'Consistories,' composed of temporal and spiritual members, in the name of the prince. With the consistorial government disappear the rights of congregations which Luther had demanded in 1523—('That a Christian congregation had the right to appoint and dismiss teachers.'). There was a danger of the denial of reformed principles by Orthodoxy and Cæsaro-popedom which would have led to the benumbing and secularisation of the evangelical church, for, according to the 'territorial system,' the power of the church was a constituent part of the power of the state, 'cujus regio ejus religio.' To guard against this arose the opposition of Spener's 'Pietismus,' which demanded a more earnest and purer form of Christianity in life, and the Collegiate system of the Tübingen Chancellor Pfaff (1719), according to whom the church was an independent corporation, which could hand over its rights of association to the princes, but whose members are fully entitled to take part in the church government. It is, however, only quite recently that in some evangelical established churches (as for example in Prussia, in 1873, by the introduction of a congregational and synodal constitution) the right of the congregation has been partially recognised; the hitherto compulsory baptism has been annulled in the German Empire by law, and religious freedom established.

The reformed churches have from the commencement (with the exception of the English) placed no value on their connection with the ancient church. In many places they have completely broken off all connection with it by the forcible removal of things used in the church, such as altars, organs, pictures, lights, hosts, crucifixes, etc., and not only purified the accustomed place from unchristian things, but undertook a new construction of Christian life and

worship, in which only such materials should be used, as are directly sanctioned by Scripture. Thus have they also returned in the formation of their church constitution to the Presbyterian and Synodical government of early Christian times. Still the development was very different in different countries. Zwingli had left all authority in church matters in the hands of the Christian civil power, and hence the church was placed in the same connection with the state as it exists under the Lutheran Church government. The Church of England, on the other hand, held to the necessity of the Episcopal Government and Apostolic Succession, with other old ordinances and ceremonies, which called forth the blunt opposition of the Puritans, who, on protestant principles, and more especially on the principle of religious autonomy of congregations, insisted on unlimited religious freedom and individual liberty (in England since the time of Cromwell, and in the United States of North America), which naturally led to the formation of numerous sects.

The Calvinistic Church constitution, drawn up in the Geneva Church orders of 1541, has great historical importance. The aristocratic spirit of the Government of Geneva made itself felt also in Calvin's Church constitution. Calvin considered Church and State sufficiently separate to prevent the absolute transfer of the Church authority to the State. But the State has the same moral and religious objects as the Church : the duty of the civil power extends to both tables of the law. Church and State should thus go hand in hand with strict avoidance of all mutual encroachment. The management of the Church is vested in the congregation ; but it must be directed by a college of Elders (a presbytery which above everything is to exercise Church discipline). The Geneva rules demand, moreover, for the government of the Church, three offices, those of Pastors, Teachers, and Deacons ; in the dministration of Church discipline the secular authority has only to give its support by punishing. (The 'heretic' Michael Servetus was burnt at Geneva in 1553.) Worship and Morals in the Calvinistic branch of the reformed churches have a legal and Old Testament character. (Sunday Observance, Psalm singing.)

The opposition of Protestantism to Roman Catholicism may be thus briefly expressed :—

The Roman Catholic teaches : 'Ubi ecclesia, ibi et spiritus Dei.' (Irenaeus *adv. haer.* III. 24.)

The Protestant on the other hand says : 'Ubi Spiritus Dei, illic ecclesia.'

The Roman Catholic says: 'Extra ecclesiam nulla salus.'
The Protestant: 'In sola fide salus.'
The Roman Catholic makes the relation of the individual man to Christ dependent on his relation to the Church.
The Protestant makes his relation to the Church dependent on his relation to Christ (Schleiermacher).

CHAPTER VIII

THE DOCTRINE OF TRADITION AND OF HOLY SCRIPTURE

As a source of knowledge of the Christian doctrines of Faith and Morals, the Roman Catholic Church places the unwritten tradition or hereditary doctrine by the side of and above the written word of God. (*Concil. Trid. S.* iv. Dec. I., 'In libris scriptis et sine scripto traditionibus, quae ipsius Christi ore ab Apostolis acceptae aut ab ipsis apostolis, Spiritu S. dictante, quasi per manus traditae, ad nos usque pervenerunt.') The Church alone has the right to decide on the sense of scripture. Whoever in expounding scripture contradicts the Church and the traditions of the Fathers, is according to the same decree of the Council to be punished. No fuller definitions of the conception of tradition are given. Naturally the genuineness and truth of tradition is also decided by the Church alone, which as a continuing and abiding institution under the direction of the Holy Spirit contains in itself and propagates the revelation of the complete doctrine of Christ undefiled, whether it be as a genuine apostolic tradition, or as the true sense of any given passage, or generally, as the christian doctrine and institution, the truth of which it guarantees to the individual. In the Prof. fid. the 'traditiones

apostolicae' and 'ecclesiasticae' are placed side by side, and in the Cat. Rom. praef., 19, 'Hoc docuit apostolica traditio et ecclesiae auctoritas.'

The Church having been founded by the oral instruction of the Apostles, and not by the writings of the New Testament, which, when detached from it are incomplete, and frequently obscure and capable of various interpretations, and as, moreover, the authenticity and canonicity of the apostolic writings, as well as their certain interpretation, rest, according to the Roman view, only on the authority of the Church, no Catholic is permitted to explain Scripture otherwise than according to the united testimony of the Holy Fathers: tradition is thus in reality ranked higher than Scripture. Hence also tradition is not recognised as genuine by its agreement with Scripture, but according to the Canon of Vincentius Lerinensis, the 'quod ubique, quod semper, quod ab omnibus creditum est' prevails as apostolic tradition. As the Church itself by its councils and the Pope holds every canon of infallible authority and decides accordingly what the true tradition is, tradition imposes *no restraint* on the Church, as is plainly testified to by its action in defining the latest dogmas (of the Immaculate Conception of the Virgin and the Infallibility of the Pope).[1]

In fixing the canon of the Holy Scripture the Apocryphal Books of the Old Testament were placed on a level with the canonical ones, plainly in order to support, in opposition to Protestantism, the authority of the Church which had so determined at the Synod at Hippo Regius in 395, and at Carthage in 397, and lastly by a decree of Pope Gelasius I. in 495, and to maintain the authority of the Vulgate, and to preclude any further investigations into the Canon (*Concil. Trid. S.* iv.). 'Si quis autem libros ipsos integros cum omnibus suis partibus, prout in ecclesia catholica legi consueverunt et in veteri vulgata

[1] The authority of tradition is coincident with that of the Church, and Pius IX said to those who in 1870 appealed to tradition against him: 'La traditione—sono Io.'

latina editione habentur, pro sacris et canonicis non susceperit et traditiones praedictas sciens et prudens contempserit, anathema sit.'

On the Vulgate itself the Synod declares in the same session, 'ut haec ipsa vetus et vulgata editio, quae longo tot seculorum usu in ipsa ecclesia probata est, in publicis lectionibus, disputationibus, praedicationibus et expositionibus *pro authentica* habeatur, et ut nemo illam rejicere quovis praetextu audeat vel praesumat.' (Editions of the Vulgate appeared with papal authority under Sixtus v., 1590, and Clement viii., 1592). Thereby was a door closed against the freer explanation of Scripture from the original text.

As the Church is in possession of Tradition, that is, of the complete living word of God, which also includes in itself the contents of Holy Scripture, it is not necessary for those who are taught by the Church to know or to read the Scripture; nay more, the Church is justified in forbidding the reading of the Bible by the laity, whenever it sees cause to fear effects injurious to the dogmas of the Church which alone gives salvation.

Thus then have popes from Gregory vii. down to the most recent time, as well as Provincial Synods, forbidden or limited Bible reading. The Index librorum prohibitorum authorised by Pius iv. contains in the fourth rule the regulation that the reading of the Bible in the vulgar tongue may only take place with the permission of the bishop or inquisitor: 'Whoever presumes to read and to possess the Bible without such permission shall have no forgiveness of sin, until he gives up the Bible to the ordinary.' Sixtus v., by an 'Observatio circa quartam regulam,' took away from the bishops the right of giving permission to read the Bible, and Urban viii., in a constitution of 1631, forbade even the bishop to read the Bible in the vulgar tongue without the permission of the Pope. It was only in the time of the emperor Joseph ii. that the use of the Bible was permitted to Roman Catholics in Germany in the translation by Leander van Ess. A Polish translation was also disseminated about the same time. Pius vii. in 1816 denounced the work of the English Bible Society, which had undertaken the circulation of the German and Polish translations 'under the appro-

bation of the Church,' as a most crafty invention, a pestilence for the subversion of the faith, etc. Leo XII. condemned the Bible Societies in a brief in 1824, and Pius IX. enumerates in his Syllabus (§ 4), Societates Biblicae among the 'pestes' of the Church by the side of Socialism, Communism, and Societates Clerico-liberales.

The Greek Church prides itself above all other Churches on its orthodoxy, as it has retained uninjured the ancient faith and doctrine. The Bible and ecclesiastical tradition (*παραδόσεις ἀποστολικαὶ ἐκκλησιαστικαί*), with the resolutions of the seven first councils, are to it the sources and rules of religious confession. The *Septuagint* has with it the same authority as the Vulgate has in the Roman Church. It has declared itself with regard to the apocryphal books of the Old Testament; it spoke with some hesitation until the Synod of Jerusalem in 1672, when they were put on a level with the canonical books. The reading of the Bible has not been so decidedly forbidden to its laity as in the Roman Church.

Protestantism finds in tradition the source of the growing abuses and errors in the Church, and by going back to the original doctrine of Christ and His Apostles, which we can alone obtain from the oldest and most certain source, viz., the New Testament Canon, seeks to purify the Church from every later disfigurement. As the Revelation of God in Christ is complete in itself, and is eternally sufficient for the redemption of man, it needs no continuation through the Church: the Scripture, in which is contained the complete and infallible Word of God, suffices for every one to attain, under the promised guidance of the Holy Spirit, to a right acknowledgment of God, and to a community of life with Christ. The Holy Spirit alone creates, by means of the word, the saving faith, without a mediating hierarchy and tradition between the individual and Scripture. Even the setting up of the symbolical books must not prejudice the authority of Scripture. (Preface to the Augsburg Confession, 'on the foundation of the Holy Scripture.'—*Schmalk. Art.* Part II. Art. 2, 'God's Word

must determine the articles of faith, and no one else, not even an angel.' *Form. Conc.* de compendiaria regula atque norma.) Still more decisively is this principle of Scripture expressed in the *Reformed* confessions (*Helv. pr.* ii., *Gall.* 3-5). The development of the Christian doctrine in the first four oecumenical councils is acknowledged, not, however, on account of the authority of the Church, but because of their undoubted agreement with Scripture.

The protestant scriptural principle (the formal principle of the Reformation) receives for the first time a solemn expression in the declaration of the Evangelical States of the Empire at Spires, on the 19th of April 1529. 'We intend by the grace and help of God to hold forth this, that God's Word and the holy gospel of the Old and New Testament as contained in the Biblical books shall alone be preached sincerely and purely, and nothing contrary thereto.' That Holy Scripture, in regard to all which is necessary for a Christian to know, is of itself and by itself intelligible and thus needs no infallible interpreter, is taught expressly by the *Conf. Helv. prior* ii., and *Conf. Helv. posterior* ii. The Lutheran confessions contain no definite explanation on the subject; still their whole position towards the church and its exegetical tradition rests on the principle that freedom of exposition is the privilege of every Christian who is competent thereto. By the side of Holy Scripture no other foundation of Christian communion is acknowledged than free religious conviction. The Lutheran writers on Dogmatics derive from the divine inspiration of Scripture its sufficiency and perfection, its perspicuity and plainness. It must be expounded according to the rules of grammatical and historical interpretation and according to the *analogia fidei*, that is that no sense be ascribed to the more obscure passages which is contrary to the contents of the plainly testified truths. The original text is alone authentic, and it is to be made accessible to Christians by translations in order that all may be able to examine it and be edified. The freer (critical) position of Luther towards the canon as a historical document and towards the single writings (for example the Epistle of James and the Apocalypse) has hampered the Lutheran church in its contest with Rome on the one side, and with the spiritualistic 'enthusiasts' on the other. It very soon, however, came nearer to the Reformed view of Scripture, that it was a *verbally inspired*

book of divine revelation, and denied the principles of historical criticism which were employed without hesitation against Catholic tradition.[1]

Luther included the *Apocrypha* of the Old Testament in his translation of the Bible, but with the superscription 'Apocrypha, that is to say, Books which are not held equal to Holy Scripture, but are useful and profitable to read,' while the *Reformed* Churches banished them completely from Scripture.[2]

Both the Protestant Churches agree in the endeavour to restore *original Christianity*, and to purify the Church from all the *Judaism* and *Paganism* that had remained or had been revived in her as well as in the acknowledgement of Scripture as the *only rule* of Faith. Still, from the beginning, the Reformed Church has more decidedly carried out the (negative as well as positive) application of the principle of Scripture, and hence in its confessions it has protested more emphatically against all authority of tradition binding the conscience than the Lutheran, which showed a fuller appreciation of the living continuous development of the Christian spirit and its suitability to the relation of the time and the stages of civilisation of the people.

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[1] Nevertheless the Reformed Theologians of Holland in the seventeenth century (Grotius, Clericus, Vitringa, and others) have opened up the path of historical and critical Exegesis which the Lutherans adopted at a later period.

[2] This hardly applies to the Church of England, as some of the Apocryphal books are included in the Lectionary.—T.

CHAPTER IX

THE OPPOSITION OF THE ROMAN AND EVANGELICAL CHURCHES WITH REGARD TO CHRISTIAN ANTHROPOLOGY AND SOTERIOLOGY (DOCTRINE OF SALVATION)

In Theology and Christology all the churches agree; only that in the Doctrine of the Trinity the Greek Church asserts in opposition to the Western that the Holy Ghost proceeds from the Father (through the Son; John xv. 26), and rejects the 'Filioque,' as opposed to the fundamental doctrine of the Unity of God; and in Christology, in spite of their common agreement to the Formula of Chalcedon (451), of the unmixed and unalterable, but also undivided and inseparable union of the Divine and human nature in the Person of Christ. There is a difference between the Lutheran and Reformed Churches, which will be noticed when we come to discuss the Doctrine of the Eucharist. A fundamental difference exists between the Roman Catholic (with which the Greek in reality agrees) and the Protestant Churches as to the doctrine of *Justification of Man before God*, that is, in the answer to the question, 'How can sinful man be partaker of the atonement and of communion with God?'

A. *The Doctrine of Original Sin.*

The protest of the Reformed Church against all merit in good works, and against all individual righteousness of

man, led to the examination and defining of the condition in which man was placed by the Fall and of the original state of righteousness from which he fell.

Justitia originalis, according to the Roman doctrine which distinguishes between the *imago* and the *similitudo* Dei (Gen. i. 26), is a supernatural gift of grace (admirabile donum additum) thus peculiar to the first man (*Cat. Rom.* i. art. 1, 23). According to *evangelical* doctrine, however, the *justitia originalis* belongs to the nature of man before his fall (*Apol. C. A.* art. i. 17). The divine image, from which the resemblance to God is not distinguished, consists in moral perfection, in true freedom, the opposite of the bondage to sin; *justitia originalis* is just as little an extraordinary supernatural relation as is the renewing of it through Christ.

Hence, according to the *Roman* doctrine, Adam in consequence of the Fall lost only the supernatural free gift of holiness and righteousness for himself and his descendants; human nature in itself was not thereby really injured, and no sinful disposition produced in it. Instinct and inclinations, which now assert themselves in man and draw him to evil, were already in existence before the Fall, and as long as they do not pass into *real sins* can no more corrupt the purity of nature now than they did then. Just so has the innate desire to do good, the *liberum arbitrium*, remained, although weakened ('Tametsi in eis liberum arbitrium minime exstinctum esset, viribus licet attenuatum et inclinatum,' *Can. Trident.* Sess. vi. 1).[1] The *justitia originalis* held the lower powers of man in subservience to the higher; the settled direction towards good, and the subjugation of the lusts of the flesh was thus a consequence of that *donum superadditum*, from the loss of which all corruption is derived, not from the want of any natural gift or power, nor from the introduction of a sinful tendency. The *concupiscentia* can no more be held to be sin after the Fall than before. It is as the sinful lust, as the sinful instinct belonging to the nature of man, no positive propensity to sin, although now after the loss of the *justitia originalis* it easily leads to it. If then by *Baptism* the guilt of hereditary sin, of which the only consequence is the *carentia donorum supranaturalium*, is taken away, original sin is in reality itself taken away, for the *concupiscentia* still remaining in the

[1] With this is connected the Pelagianising tendency of the Roman Church with which they reproached the Lutherans and the Reformed.

baptized is not sin, but only the possible occasion, the instigation (fomes) of sin (Trid. Sess. v. 5.)

The Greek Church, which took but little heed of questions of this sort, has invariably asserted the freedom of the human will even after the Fall.

While, according to the Romish doctrine, original sin consists of nothing else than the guilt (*reatus*) of Adam inherited by all mankind, and in the loss of the supernatural *justitia originalis*, according to the Protestant doctrine it is not only a *totalis carentia seu defectus concreatae in paradiso justitiae originalis seu imaginis Dei*, but also a corruption, *corruptio totius naturae*, or *a sinful lust*, *concupiscentia prava* (*Conf. Aug.* ii. *Apol.*, *Conf. Aug.* i.). Original sin is *de essentia hominis*, that is, something belonging to the very nature of man, just as the *justitia originalis* was. The loss of the innate integrity makes it impossible for man to know God *rightly*, and to *love Him with all his heart.*

All, even the highest powers of the soul, are corrupted, and the sinful lust is so dominant that man has lost the *liberum arbitrium in spiritualibus*, although it is not to be altogether denied him *in civilibus* (*Conf. Aug.* xviii.). Original sin (*vitium originis*, the habitual tendency to sin) is not merely such, in so far as actual sins proceed therefrom, but is *per se* an actual sin which draws condemnation to itself. The assertion of Flacius, however, that original sin is of the substance of man, and of all Manichaeism, is rejected in the *Concordienformel* (Art. i.).

While the evangelical doctrine raises man, by the fact that it imposes a higher moral standard on human nature, the Roman, by its superficial comprehension of the nature of sin, and by its low conception of the original worth of nature and of the destina-

tion of man, lowers him, notwithstanding that at first sight it appears to place him higher by ascribing to him free will. The impelling motive of the evangelical doctrine is the religious interest, that man has nothing really good in himself even by *nature*, but that all must first be *created by the Grace of God.*

The Immaculate Conception of the Virgin.

Augustine, according to whose doctrine of original sin mankind has become a *massa perditionis*, did not except the Virgin Mary[1] from the lot of other children of men, and in the 12th century Bernard of Clairvaux condemned the doctrine that Mary was conceived without sin as an innovation against all tradition, and as injustice to the God-man.

Later on, the Dominicans and Franciscans divided on the question whether the Holy Virgin, although affected by original sin, was purified from it before her birth, or whether she had been from the beginning without sin. The great Dominican, Thomas Aquinas, who died in 1274, declared for the former alternative, and the brethren of his order have down to the present time held the same in opposition to the Franciscans, who, under the guidance of their 'doctor subtilis' Duns Scotus (who died 1308) advocated the doctrine of the Immaculate Conception. At the time of the schism the French people were on the side of the Franciscans, while the Romans held the opposite view. The Council of Basel in 1439, at the time of its contest with the papacy, decided in favour of the Franciscans. A Franciscan general, as Pope Sixtus IV., in a brief of 1483 excommunicated all who taught that believers in the Immaculate Conception of the Mother of God were heretics (omnes illos, qui asserunt immaculatam Dei genitricem absque originalis peccati macula fuisse conceptam, mortaliter peccare vel esse hereticos), but also at the same time threatened with the same punishment those who denounced the opposite opinion as a heresy or deadly sin, 'quum nondum sit a Romana ecclesia et Apostolica sede decisum.'

The Synod at Trent declared in a supplement to the decree on original sin: 'non esse suae intentionis comprehendere in hoc decreto ubi de peccato originali agitur, beatam et immaculatam Virginem Mariam, Dei genitricem, sed observandas esse constitutiones felicis recordationis Sixti Papae IV. sub poenis in eis con-

[1] He was, however, troubled on the subject, and suggested that the Virgin was regenerated at her birth.—T.

stitutionibus contentis.' It did not wish to decide on the doctrine itself, any more than the Popes of the following centuries, notwithstanding the manifest prejudice of some among them for the Franciscan doctrine, defended as it was also by the Jesuits, until Pius IX., in a letter from Gaeta in 1849, promised a final settlement of the strife, and after receiving the opinions which he had invited from the bishops, announced, on December 8th 1854, in St. Peter's : 'Definimus doctrinam quae tenet beatissimam Virginem Mariam in primo instanti suae conceptionis fuisse singulari omnipotentis Dei gratia et privilegio, intuitu Christi Jesu Salvatoris humani generis, ab omni originalis culpae labe praeservatam immunem, esse a Deo revelatam atque iccirco ab omnibus fidelibus firmiter constanterque credendam.'

B. *The Doctrine of Justification.*

Justification of man before God through *faith alone* (sola fide) is the fundamental doctrine of the Reformation, and the main point of the dispute between the Romans and the Evangelicals (see *Schmalkald Art.*).

The Council of Trent has treated the doctrine of Justification very fully in the 6th Session (with 33 Anathemas). According to their definitions the *exordium justificationis* acts in adults by the *gratia praeveniens*, per quam excitantem atque adjuvantem gratiam ad convertendum se ad suam ipsorum justificationem, eidem gratiae *libere assentiendo et cooperando* disponuntur homines, ita ut neque homo ipse nihil omnino agat, inspirationem illam recipiens, quippe qui illam abjicere potest, neque tamen sine gratia Dei movere se ad justitiam coram illo libera sua voluntate possit. On the 'praeparatio in justificationem' follows the *justificatio* itself, 'quae non sola est peccatorum remissio, sed et *sanctificatio* et *renovatio* interioris hominis per voluntariam susceptionem gratiae et donorum. Renovati spiritu mentis nostrae non modo reputamur sed vere justi nominamur et sumus, justitiam in nobis recipientes, unus quisque suam secundum mensuram quam Spiritus S. partitur singulis prout vult et secundum propriam cujusque *dispositionem et cooperationem.* Quamquam enim nemo possit esse justus, nisi cui merita passionis Domini n. J. Christi communicantur : id tamen in hac impii justicatione fit, dum ejusdem sanctissimae passionis merito per Spiritum S. charitas Dei diffunditur in cordibus eorum

qui justificantur, atque ipsis inhaeret; unde *haec omnia simul infusa* accipit homo: fidem, spem et charitatem.' . . . 'Per fidem ideo justificari dicimur, quia fides est humanae salutis initium, fundamentum et radix omnis justificationis. *Gratis* autem justificari ideo dicimur, quia nihil eorumque justificationem praecedunt, sive fides, sive opera, ipsam justificationis gratiam promeretur. . . . Neque illud asserendum est, oportere eos, qui vere justificati sunt, absque ulla omnino dubitatione apud semetipsos statuere, se esse justificatos, neminemque a peccatis absolvi ac justificari nisi eum, qui certo credat se absolutum et justificatum esse, atque *hac sola fide* absolutionem et justificationem perfici. . . . Quilibet, dum se ipsum suamque propriam infirmitatem et indispositionem respicit, *de sua gratia formidare* et timere potest.[1]—Justificati per observationem mandatorum Dei et ecclesiae in ipsa justitia per Christi gratiam accepta cooperante fide *bonis operibus* crescunt atque *magis justificantur.*' Consequently, the person justified may not acquit himself of the observance of the commandments nor assert that it is impossible for him to keep them. 'Nam Deus impossibilia non jubet, sed jubendo monet et facere quod possis et petere quod non possis, et adjuvat ut possis.'. Whoever has through sin lost the grace of justification can attain to it again by the sacrament of *Penance*, to which belongs, however, not only 'cessatio a peccatis et eorum detestatio aut cor contritum et humiliatum,' but also 'earundem sacramentalis confessio et sacerdotalis absolutio, itemque satisfactio per jejunia, eleemosynas, orationes, et alia pia spiritualis vitae exercitia, non quidem pro paena aeterna, quae vel sacramento vel sacramenti voto una cum culpa remittitur, sed pro poena temporali, quae non tota semper, ut in baptismo fit, dimittitur.' The grace of God is lost not merely by unbelief, but by every deadly sin, 'quamvis non amittatur fides.' The fruit of justification is eternal life as a grace promised out of mercy to the children of God, but no less as a reward for their good works and merits as defined by this promise. 'Absit tamen, ut Christianus homo in se ipso vel confidat vel glorietur, et non in Domino, cujus tanta est erga omnes homines bonitas, ut eorum velit esse merita, quae sunt ipsius dona.—(According to the scholastic theology there is a 'meritum *de congruo*' in provisional justification, and in justification itself a 'meritum *de condigno.*')

[1] This doctrine, that the Christian cannot have perfect certainty as to his state of grace ('nisi ex speciali revelatione'), this denial of evangelical confidence in the conscience leads to the dependence of the faithful on the constant repetition of absolution by the priest.

The Greek Church also accepts a co-operation of the human powers with the divine grace, and has the same conception of justification as an improvement, or making righteous by means of *faith and works.*

Thus it appears that, according to the Roman doctrine, justification is a supernatural influence, through which the natural condition of man is altered, an *actio hyperphysica qua homo per habitum quendam a Deo infusum justus redditur.* Justification is mixed up with gradual sanctification, as faith is only justifying, in so far as, by its influence on the will (as 'fides caritate formata'), it becomes practical in love.

On the other hand, according to the *Evangelical* doctrine, it is a divine remission of sins and of the deserved condemnation out of pure grace on account of the merits of Christ, an 'actus *forensis* or *judicialis*' in which 'the sinner is justified before God, that is to say, he is absolved from all his sins and from the judgment of a most just condemnation, and is adopted into the number of the sons of God, and made inheritor of eternal life without any personal merit or worthiness, or any works of his own, either past, present, or to come, but from mere grace, on account of the merit of Jesus Christ alone, whose obedience is imputed to us for righteousness' (*Form. Concil. Sol.* decl. iii. 9, *Conf. Aug.* iv., *Apol. Conf. Aug.* ii.).

Δικαιοῦσθαι is understood in the Pauline sense as used in the Epistle to the Romans, where it is equivalent to being 'esteemed or declared righteous,' and not 'made righteous.' *Peccator justus declaratur vel pronuntiatur: improbo justitia Christi imputatur.* There can be no question of a co-operating of human power or merit, which forms an important point in the forgiveness of sins and justification according to the Roman doctrine.

Man is not indeed altered in his nature by this (instantaneous) act of justification, but only in his personal relation to God; there is, however, closely connected with justification as the objective consequence of faith, the other, which is subjective, namely, newness of life and sanctification. The faith by which we grasp the justice of Christ is nothing external, but something internal, by which there is implanted in man a new moral and religious principle which breaks the power and dominion of sin. The old nature may still dwell in the believer, but its power is broken, as with faith results the new birth, and there begins the death of the old Adam (. . . ut per Spiritum sanctum veteris Adami mortificatio et renovatio in spiritu mentis eorum inchoata sit.—*Form. Conc. Sol.* decl. vi. 7). But although faith is manifested in truly good works, and 'love is one of the fruits which then necessarily follow true faith,' it is shown in Romans iii. 28 and in other passages, 'that neither preceding repentance nor the works which follow belong to justification in the *deed or the act.* The individual must first be righteous, before he can do good works.' Justification, as resting on a basis *outside* of man, that is, on the perfect merit of Christ—(notwithstanding that the moral consciousness of man never declares itself as pure and spotless, or his actions in perfect obedience to the law of God)—is something contained in itself, complete, and the source of evangelical joy and tranquillity of mind, which is as far removed from pride as from despair. 'Conscientiae non possunt reddi tranquillae per ulla opera, sed tantum fide, quum certo statuunt, quod propter Christum habeant placatum Deum.'—(*Conf. Aug.* xx. 15).[1]

C. *Of Faith and Good Works.*

The Roman Catholic Church understands by *saving faith* something quite different from the Evangelical. In the Roman Catholic as in the Greek Church, *Faith* is considered as the general conviction of the truth of the Christian doctrine, or of divine revelation, and this is only to be

[1] In the endeavour to put aside the merits of human action in general, and especially those of the saints, and to make room for the doctrine of the free grace of God, which declares the sinner freely justified, the Evangelicals have gone back to the Pauline doctrine (scholastically explained by Anselm of Canterbury) of the all-sufficient merits of Christ.

had through the Church as orthodoxy, *i.e.* to the unconditional acceptance of all the doctrines established by the Church. According to the Tridentine *Professio Fidei* every baptized Christian owes, as such, *obedience* to the Church and belief in its doctrine. He must believe, not because he is convinced of the truth of the doctrine, but *because it is the doctrine of the Church* (quod a Deo traditum esse ecclesiae auctoritas comprobavit). As this mere holding the Church doctrine as true does not assume a really Christian sentiment, the Church must besides demand of the faithful the preservation of the Christian sense by *good works*, to which it ascribes a certain merit.[1] Among these good works are reckoned not only the fulfilment of one's daily moral duties, but more particularly almsgiving, repetition of prayer, fasting, pilgrimages, etc.

The Roman symbolical books contain no definition of the *opera supererogationis*, or works of supererogation. According to the Dogmatists, and the practice of indulgences confirmed by Papal Bulls, it is to be considered as a dogma that the Church is in possession of a 'thesaurus operum supererogatoriorum,' which consists of the superfluous merits of *Christ and the Saints* or perfection; that there are consequently works, which give to their performers a greater merit before God than they need for their own justification.

Such works of supererogation a Christian performs, in fact, when he follows not only the generally ordained precepts, but also those which are merely recommended, '*consilia evangelica.*' (Celibacy, voluntary poverty, unconditional obedience to spiritual superiors, and other ascetic exercises.) On this distinction between the generally accepted unconditional precepts of the New Testament and the virtues merely recommended, which is also taught by the

[1] *Con. Trid. S.* vi. can. 32. Si quis dixerit hominis justificati bona opera ita esse dona Dei ut non sint etiam bona ipsius justificati *merita*, aut ipsum justificatum bonis operibus, quae ab eo per Dei gratiam et J. Christi meritum, cujus vivum membrum est, fiunt non vere *mereri augmentum gratiae*, vitam aeternam, etc.; anathema sit.

Greek Church, rests the high value set upon the monastic institution as a more perfect representation and exercise of Christian life in the Roman Catholic Church. To this perfection belongs the renunciation of family ties, private possessions, civil life, and all contact with the world.

According to the *Evangelical* Doctrine faith consists not merely in a knowledge of, and adherence to, the divine Revelation and Church doctrines, but in a profound conviction of the necessity of a sincere and thorough *confidence in the Grace of God in Christ* as announced in the Gospel. (Illa fides, quae justificat, non est tantum notitia historiae, sed est assentiri promissioni Dei, in qua gratis propter Christum offertur remissio peccatorum et justificatio.—*Apol. Conf. Aug.* ii. 48. 'Fides non est nuda notitia historiae de Christo, sed tale Dei donum, quo Christum redemptorem nostrum agnoscimus ipsique confidimus.'—*Form. Conc.* Ep. iii. 4.) To faith belongs also especially *fiducia*, and it is this *fides specialis* alone, 'as I believe for certain that my sins are forgiven' which experiences the saving power of the Gospel, which is no mere system of dogmas, but the announcement of the love of God manifested through Christ[1] (*Apol. Conf. Aug.* vii. 21).

Faith is moreover not a work or service of man, but an operation of the Holy Spirit which creates it in his heart through the Gospel. 'Nam fides non ideo justificat aut salvat, quia ipsa sit opus per sese dignum, sed tantum quia accipit misericordiam promissam (*Apol. Conf. Aug.* ii. 16). Talis fides est divina potentia, ea fides donum Dei est, etc. (*Apol.* iii. 129, *F. C. Sol.* Sect. iii. 11, and elsewhere).

[1] Unfortunately in the Evangelical Church (that is in the 17th century), Faith was considered as a belief in the formulae of doctrine propounded in the Concor enbuch, and thus a *scholastic justification* was put in the place of the religious belief in the gospel.

Only one who is justified can do truly good works. Justification must therefore precede them. Sanctification of life *necessarily* follows justification. 'Faith does not ask if good works are to be done, but has done them already before asking and is always doing them; so that it is as impossible to separate Works from Faith as it is to separate heat and light from fire.' (Luther.) Good works are, however, only those which man does out of love to God and his neighbour in his *State* and *Calling* (p. 15, *Haustafel*). These good works remain ever before God as something imperfect; Evangelical doctrine knows nothing of 'merits' or of their justifying power.

In opposition to the Romish doctrine of the necessity of Sanctification for justification, and of the personal satisfaction for the forgiveness of sins consciously committed after baptism (*Conc. Trid.* S. xiv.), the 'sola fide' of the Evangelical confessions is often put forward with peculiar emphasis. This doctrine of justification is the chief weapon against the whole Romish Church with its treasury of works of supererogation, and its indulgences, its honouring of saints, its confessions, its justifications by good works, and its monastic institutions.

D. *The Doctrine of Predestination.*

The difference between the two Churches in regard to the method of salvation is based on their different views of the relation of human power and activity to the divine in the work of regeneration, or of the *gratia divina* to human *free will.*

The Roman Church accepts the co-operation of a natural power in man for the attainment of Salvation; the *gratia praeveniens* does not produce spiritual powers, but only increases and stimulates those originally bestowed on man.

She has accordingly given up the Augustinian doctrine of grace and predestination.

According to the doctrines of the *Reformers*, whose object was to exclude all human co-operation, and therewith all human merit in the work of salvation, the natural man was thought of in a *merely passive* relation to the Divine Work. That he does not resist grace is itself an effect of grace. Only in relation to the spiritual powers produced in him by grace can we speak of a *gratia cooperans et adjuvans*. Everything which leads to Salvation is exclusively the work of Divine Grace. Thus the Reformers acknowledged the doctrines of Augustine, including that of Predestination.

The Protestants, however, fell into a dispute among themselves over the question whether the *gratia* was *resistibilis* or *irresistibilis*, and whether it was offered to all or only to those who by an eternal and unconditional decree of God were *predestined* to Blessedness. It was Calvin who taught not only Augustinism with all its consequences, but even asserted that the fall itself was pre-ordained of God, and did not take place merely by the free will of Man.[1] Luther (de servo arbitrio, 1525), and Melanchthon (in the first edition of his Loci, 1520) had also at first defended the Augustinian doctrine of Predestination.

Zwingli also insisted most emphatically on the absoluteness of God, and the sinfulness and final destruction of the whole human race, and that man could have no independence whatever in his relation with God. Melanchthon, however, shortly afterwards declared himself against absolute predestination, and against his former assertion, that man cannot in any way co-operate towards his own conversion, nor was he opposed by Luther, who was at the same time trying to avoid at least the most obnoxious consequences of the doctrine of Predestination. The dispute about co-operation which broke out after the death of Luther was decided against it by the *Concordienformel* (ii.), while on the other hand Predestination

[1] The Predestinarians, who hold this view are called *Supralapsarians*, the more moderate are called *Infralapsarians*.

was also condemned (xi.). It asserted not merely the universality of the divine decree for the salvation of man, but also its conditional reception on the part of man, at least in so far as that all who were not saved were only not saved because they themselves rejected it. The strict Calvinism which sets out for the unconditional dependence of man on God and leads to absolute Predestination has only found its expression as a dogma of faith in the *Conf. Gall.* (12), *Conf. Belgica* (17), and in the *Canones Conc. Dord.* (especially c. vii. 9, 10).

CHAPTER X

DOCTRINE OF THE SACRAMENTS IN GENERAL

All Churches agree in this, that by the side of the Word of God they recognise certain acts (*μυστήρια*, sacramenta) instituted by Christ, which, answering to the double nature of man of sense and spirit, are a means of grace under visible 'elements.' They differ however from one another as to the *number*.

In many passages of the Vulgate the Greek word *μυστήριον* is translated by *sacramentum* (signifying in classical language, 'earnest money' and 'a soldier's oath'), but it is used in the New Testament to denote objects of Christian revelation, and never for religious ceremonies, such as Baptism and the Lord's Supper. Tertullian first applied the Latin word (as the Greek Fathers used the Greek) to certain mysteries of Christianity, and more especially to Baptism and the Lord's Supper.[1] In the time of the Schoolmen the word was used in preference for the holy ceremonies of the church, the number of which Peter Lombard, who died 1164, fixed at *seven*. The Council of Florence in 1439 raised this number to an article of faith.

The Roman Church teaches: Si quis dixerit sacramenta novae legis non fuisse omnia a Jesu Christo Domino nostro instituta aut esse plura vel pauciora, quam septem, videlicet Baptismum, Confirmationem, Eucharistiam, Poenitentiam, Extremam Unctionem, Ordinem et Matrimonium, aut etiam aliquod horum septem non esse vere et proprie

[1] The word was first used specially for baptism, in which the Christian binds himself by the oath of service (sacramentum) to the *militia Christi*.

sacramentum ; anathema sit (*Conc. Trid.* S. vii. 1). The Greek Church reckons the same number, only it gives the last place to the εὐχέλαιον (unction). The *Lutheran* which in the *Apol.* art. vii. counts Absolution as the third Sacrament, agrees later with the *Reformed* Church in the acceptation of *two* Sacraments (the rites which have the express command of God, and the manifest promise of grace). According to Protestant principles the divine appointment must be given in the exact words of the New Testament, while according to the Roman Catholic doctrine the essence of a sacrament consists in the operation of grace combined with a visible sign, and the practice ordained by the Church must be considered as a divine institution (*Cat. Rom. de confirm., qu.* 3).

Answering to the position which the doctrine of justification holds in the evangelical system, the Reformers place the essence of sacramental grace principally in the forgiveness of sins for Christ's sake, by which the communion of the faithful with Christ is founded and maintained : on the other hand, the Roman doctrine places the sanctifying operation of sacramental grace first, and refers it not only to Christian life in general but also to special callings (Priesthood, Marriage). (*Con. Trid.* S. vii. 5. *Apol.* vii. 14 and *foll.*)

According to the Roman Catholic, as well as the Greek Catholic doctrine, Divine grace is contained objectively in the outward signs of the Sacrament, and conveyed immediately to man through the almighty Power of God ; hence the Sacraments work *ex opere operato, i.e.*, by the mere use and outward participation, without inner sympathy.

Con. Trident, S. vii. c. 8. Si quis dixerit per ipsa novae legis sacramenta *ex opere operato* non conferri gratiam ('non ponentibus obicem' sc. peccati mortalis c. 4), sed solam fidem divinae promissionis ad gratiam consequendam sufficere ; anathema sit. According to the declarations of Schoolmen (for example Gabriel Biel), 'sacramentum dicitur conferre gratiam ex opere operato, quod praeter

exhibitionem signi fortis exhibiti non requiritur bonus motus interior in suscipiente'; and Bellarmine (*de Sacr.* ii.), says: 'opus operatum non solum excludere dignitatem ministri, sed etiam *fidem et motum internum* ab efficientia gratiae sacramentalis.'[1]

The Lutheran Church expressly rejects the doctrine of the *opus operatum.* (*Conf. Aug.* xiii. and *Apol.* vii.) It also teaches that grace is given objectively in the Sacraments; that these are not merely *signa significantia,* but *praebentia et exhibitiva media gratiae oblativa*; but it also teaches 'quod in usu sacramentorum *fides debeat accedere,* quae credat illis promissionibus et accipiat res promissas, quae ibi in sacramento offeruntur.' This faith does not produce the sacramental grace, but is the only means by which it is conferred on the receiver. (*Lutheri Cat. Maj.* iv. Neque enim fides mea facit baptismum, sed baptismum percipit et apprehendit.)

The Reformed Church does not allow that the sacramental effect of Grace is contained in the outward signs, but (as Luther had declared *before* his contest with the 'fanatics') that *everything* depended upon faith, so that the unbeliever receives the sacrament as a sign without the divine grace contained therein.

Sacramenta a Christo instituta non tantum sunt notae professionis Christianorum, sed certa quaedam potius testimonia et efficacia signa gratiae atque bonae in nos voluntatis Dei per quae invisibiliter ipse in nos operatur nostramque fidem in se non solum excitat, verum etiam confirmat. (*Helv. post.* 24.)—The Zwinglian doctrine of the sacraments as mere signs and witnesses of faith before the congregation is only found in *Conf. Tetrap.* c. 16, where it is rendered 'non solum quod sunt invisibilis gratiae visibilia signa, sed etiam quod his quasi fidei professio fiat.'

[1] Besides the sacraments the Roman Church has also consecrations (benedictiones), which are considered as nearly equal to them. At these consecrations (of bells, lights, water, and even bread, oil, animals, etc.) formulae are used according to the Ritual, which presuppose a magical effect.

CHAPTER XI

OF THE SEPARATE SACRAMENTS

1. *Baptism.*

BAPTISM[1] is considered necessary for salvation by all Churches, even for the children of Christians. (*Conf. Aug.* ix., *Conf. Scot.*: 'Baptismum pertinere tam ad infantes fidelium quam ad ipsos fideles adultos et intellectu praeditos agnoscimus et confitemur atque ita errorem Anabaptistarum damnamus, qui negant baptismum infantibus usque dum cognitionem et fidem habuerint.') According to the *Cat. Rom.* (ii. 2. 54), the baptism of infants is effective, 'non quia mentis suae assensione credant, sed quia parentum fide, si parentes fideles fuerint, sui minus fide (ut D. Augustini verbis loquamur) universae societatis sanctorum muniuntur.' The confession and vows belonging to baptism are performed in the name of the children by the sponsors, who at the same time undertake the responsibility for their Christian education.

According to the Roman doctrine, original guilt is destroyed by Baptism, and therewith the original sin in its essence as the concupiscentia is not in itself sin, as long as it does not pass on into sinful action, but only a means for the exercise of virtue.

[1] In place of the threefold *dipping* which the Greek Church enjoins as necessary, the *sprinkling* with water has come gradually into use in the Western Churches. According to Thomas Aquinas the dipping is preferable and more sure.

Si quis per Jesum Christ. Dom. n., gratiam, quae in Baptismo confertur, reatum originalis peccati remitti negat, aut etiam asserit non tolli id quod veram et propriam peccati rationem habet, sed illud dicit tantum radi aut non imputari ; anathema sit. Manere autem in baptizatis concupiscentiam vel fomitem, haec s. Synodus fatetur et sentit ; quae cum *ad agonem* relicta sit, nocere non consentientibus, sed utiliter per Christi J. gratiam repugnantibus non valet ; quin imo qui legitime certaverit, coronabitur. (*Con. Trid.* S. v. 5.)

According to the doctrine of both the Protestant Churches, by baptism it is merely the condemning guilt of hereditary sins which is taken away, while the sinful *concupiscentia* itself remains in man until death. (Baptismus tollit reatum peccati originalis, etiam si materiale peccati maneat, videlicet concupiscentia. *Apol.* i. 36.)

According to the doctrine of the Lutheran Church, the grace of the *second birth* is caused in the baptized person by the water in combination with the word of God, and not *ex opere operato*, but only by means of faith 'which trusteth to the word of God in the water.' 'We bring the child in the belief and hope that it will believe, and we pray to God that He will give him the faith.' Luth. *klein. u. gross. Catec.* iv. According to the *Reformed* Heidelberg Catechism (question 73, 74), 'God will assure us by the Divine authority and tokens that we are truly spiritually washed from our sins, as our bodies are cleansed by the natural water,' and because the children as well as the parents belong to the covenant of God and to His Church, and to them no less than to their parents is promised in the blood of Christ the remission of sins, and the Holy Spirit which creates the faith in them : thus they should also be incorporated by baptism as a sign of the covenant into the Christian Church, and separated from the unbelieving children, as took place in the Old Testament by circumcision, in place of which baptism is substituted in the New Testament.' As certainly the baptism of infants has only a significance when it is followed by a Christian education and instruction, so it is certain that in a Christian sense baptism ought to be performed in early childhood.

Since the fourth century, the formula for exorcism which

had been in use from the earliest times for persons 'possessed' (ἐνεργούμενοι) was annexed to the renunciation of Satan and all his works by the ceremonial of joining of hands, which was required by the bishop from all catechumens before baptism. The strict Lutherans retained this exorcism (driving out of the devil); but the Reformed Church rejected it. Baptism may not be repeated any more than confirmation and the consecration of priests, since these sacraments, according to the Roman as well as the Greek doctrine, imprint a 'character indelebilis' on the soul. (*Cat. Rom.* ii. 2, 54.)

2. *Confirmation.*

Confirmation is called by the Council of Trent (S. vii. 1 and 3) a *verum et proprium sacramentum*, which may only be administered by the bishop, and on children from the age of seven to twelve. The figure of the cross is signed on the forehead with an ointment of consecrated oil and balsam, the *Chrism* ('Signo te signo crucis et confirmo te chrismate salutis in nomine Patris, et Filii, et Spiritus Sancti'), and thereupon a stroke on the cheek is given to the person confirmed, in token that he must suffer for Christ's sake.

In the Greek Church the chrismatic anointing which follows immediately after baptism may be performed by *any priest*; but the right of previously consecrating the oil (τὸ μύρον) is reserved to the bishop. The Protestant Confessions (*Apol.* vii. 6, *Helv. post.* 19) do not acknowledge confirmation as a *sacrament*. 'Confirmatio et extrema unctio inventa sunt hominum, quibus nullo cum damno carere potest ecclesia; neque illa in ecclesiis nostris

habemus.' Since the middle of the seventeenth century[1] it has been (but without the use of the Chrism) again introtroduced into the Evangelical Churches as a solemn renewal of the covenant of baptism in the Confession of Faith made before admission to the first communion. This was introduced principally through the influence of Spener.

[1] The Church of England has always retained confirmation by the bishop, though it is not considered a sacrament.—T.

CHAPTER XII

THE ROMAN CATHOLIC DOCTRINE OF THE EUCHARIST AND THE SACRIFICE OF THE MASS—THE LUTHERAN AND REFORMED DOCTRINE OF THE LORD'S SUPPER

THE Roman Catholic Church holds the Lord's Supper appointed by Christ not merely as a sacrament in which the Salvation objectively offered in the Redemption through Himself is subjectively granted to the faithful through the medium of a sign, but also as a *sacrifice* and atonement which operates as an opus operatum, as soon as it is performed with due ceremony by the priest.

These two representations are so far kept distinct that the Tridentine Synod has treated of the Sacrament of the Eucharist in its thirteenth session, and of the Sacrifice of the Mass in its twenty-second. In the *Cat. Rom.* ii. ch. 4, the first fifty-two questions treat of the *Sacramentum*, the last thirteen of the *Sacrificium*.

The sacramental, as well as the sacrificial, significance of the Eucharist rests on the dogma of *Transubstantiation*, which was proclaimed by the fourth Lateran Council (1215) and by the Florentine Synod (1439), and more closely defined by the schoolmen, especially by Thomas Aquinas, who died in 1274.

Transubstantiation is, as the Tridentine Council (S. viii. cap. 8, can. 2) says, a *mirabilis et singularis conversio totius substantiae panis in corpus et totius substantiae vini in sanguinem Christi, manentibus duntaxat speciebus panis et vini*. Thus Christ has testified at the appointment of the Eucharist by the plain words: 'hoc est

corpus meum, hic est sanguis meus,' that it was really His body and His blood which He offered under the form of bread and wine, and what He then declared He effected by the same words and at the same moment. By virtue of the divine institution the words here quoted have this same *vis declarandi et efficiendi* as often as they are repeated by the priest in the consecration formula, so that after consecration the whole body of Christ is present '*vere, realiter et substantialiter*' under the form of bread and wine, while the elements remain as mere unsubstantial accessories. Not only 'in usu, dum sumitur' does the true body of Christ remain present, but also 'ante vel post, et in hostiis seu particulis consecratis, quae post communionem reservantur vel supersunt.' Thereby are the well-known *actus sacramentales* justified; such as the 'reservation' of the consecrated hosts, which were not consumed, in boxes and monstrances, and their elevation and adoration in the exhibition and carrying about in processions, especially at the 'Corpus Christi' festival which has been held in honour of the body of Christ since 1264. The decree of the fourth Lateran Council that every adult Christian should communicate at least once yearly, at Easter, after or previous to 'confessio sacramentalis,' is enforced anew. The sacrament is so administered that the ministering priest *first* communicates *himself* in both kinds, and then distributes it under one kind to the laity, who receive it kneeling, with the words: 'Corpus Domini Nostri Jesu Christi custodiat animam tuam in vitam aeternam—Amen.'

As to the non-administration of the cup to the laity, the Tridentine Council, in addition to the decrees of Kostnitz, explains: 'Nullo divino praecepto laicos et clericos non conficientes obligari ad Eucharistiae sacramentum sub utraque specie sumendum, neque nullo facto salva fide dubitari posse, quin illius alterius speciei communis ad salutem sufficiat. Praeterea declarat, hanc potestatem perpetuo in ecclesia fuisse, ut in Sacramentorum dispensione, salva illorum substantia, ea statueret vel nunciaret, quae suscipientium utilitati, seu ipsorum sacramentorum venerationi pro rerum, temporum, et locorum varietate magis expedire judicaret.' Thus the Roman Church, although at

the commencement communion in both kinds was not uncommon, has in later times for important reasons approved of the custom of communicating in one kind only, and made it a law, which no one can now reject or alter without the consent of the Church, declaring that under the one kind the *whole* Christ and the *whole* Sacrament is received. (S. xxi. 1-3.)

The Council had already, in its thirteenth Session, explained this doctrine of *Concomitance* (chap. 3). In virtue of that natural 'connexio et concomitantia,' by which the members of the Risen Saviour are for ever inseparably united, so the body may be in the form of wine, and the blood in the form of bread, the spirit being, however, present in both, and the Godhead at the same time 'propter admirabilem illum ejus cum corpore et anima hypostaticam unionem.' The presence of Christ is not to be thought of as quantitative in space, but as actually present in substance, in which there can be no conception of parts or dimensions; 'in quavis utriusque speciei particula totus Christus continetur' (*Cat. Rom.* II. iv., 35 and 43). The Church found itself in the first instance compelled to refuse the cup to the laity, on account of the dread of spilling or otherwise desecrating the blood of Christ.

It may, however, have been influenced from the first by the desire to exalt in every way the position of the priest, and this appears as the chief motive at the Council of Kostnitz. It is strange that the Church itself in former times, in its contests with heretics who rejected the use of wine in the Lord's Supper, condemned the separation of the two parts of the sacrament. One Pope had called it a *grande sacrilegium*, and even Paschal II., who died in 1118, will not allow a departure from the ordinance of Christ.

On Transubstantiation, which is made to follow as a result of the consecration, without any regard to its sacramental use, is based the doctrine of the *Sacrifice of the Mass*, regarding which the Tridentine Synod (S. xxii.) declares as follows :—

Christ (declaring himself a priest for ever after the order of

Melchisedech) has, in order to leave behind in the Church a visible sacrifice, as human nature requires (visibile, sicut hominum natura exigit, sacrificium) offered up to the Father at the last Supper His body and His blood under the forms of bread and wine, and has commanded his apostles and their successors as priests of the New Testament to repeat the sacrifice, saying: 'do this in remembrance of me.' Now because in this sacrifice, which the priest performs in the mass, the very same Christ is offered up in a bloodless way (*incruente*) who had offered himself up once with His blood on the altar of the cross, it is therefore a true sacrifice of atonement (sacrificium vere propitiatorium) by which if we draw near to God with upright hearts, in true faith, humility, and penitence, we obtain mercy and grace. Hence it is not merely for the sins, punishments, satisfactions, and other needs of the living faithful, but also accomplished for the departed who are in purgatory and not yet fully purified. If the Church sometimes performs masses in honour and in memory of the Saints, it teaches also that this is not done as a sacrifice for them, but to God alone who has crowned them, and thus it commends itself to their intercessions with God.

This Synod desires that at every mass the faithful should take part not only 'spirituali affectu,' but also 'sacramentali Eucharistiae perceptione'; but it does not condemn on that account those masses in which the priests alone take part sacramentally, but recommends them, as even these *missae privatae* must be held to be *vere communes*, partly because the people do actually communicate with them in spirit, and partly because they are not performed by the priest for himself alone but for all the faithful who belong to the body of Christ. When the Synod at the same time alludes to the order of the ancient Church to mix water with the wine at the Supper, not merely because Christ Himself appears to have done so, and because blood and water flowed out from his side, but also because water in the Apocalypse xvii. 15 signifies the *people*, and thus the union of the faithful with Christ as the head of the Church is portrayed; it is herewith manifestly intended that the congregation is in every case present spiritually and mystically at the Sacrifice of the Mass, and is itself consecrated and offered therein to God. With this also is united the Roman Catholic conception that in the Sacrifice of the Mass not only is Christ sacrificed by the administering priest, but there is at the same time a sacrifice of the Church as of the body of Christ. From this we can understand the dominant position occupied by the mass in the Roman system, since this sacrifice, a peculiar and higher consecration, gives the whole

being and life to the Church and its individual members, uniting man with God, and making him without any effort of his own an object of the Divine favour. As in the Church and her visible head the incarnation of Christ has become at the same time permanent, so in the Sacrifice of the Mass is its highest work, the Sacrifice of Atonement. The Sacrifice of the Mass is nothing without transubstantiation, that miracle which has become permanent; the ceremonies of worship are at the same time a confirmation of the workings of the Spirit and of the gifts of grace carried on from the time of the Apostles.

The Greek Church agrees with the Roman in the Doctrine of Transubstantiation, and considers the sacrament also as a sacrifice, for all the faithful, whether living or dead; it enjoins, however, that the Sacrament should be partaken of in *both kinds* according to its original institution, and it uses *leavened* bread and not unleavened as in the Church of Rome; at the same time it uses wine mixed with water. It also allows children to take part in the Supper (the use of wine being forbidden until their seventeenth year) which the Synod of Trent did not consider necessary (S. xxi. cap. 4). The carrying about of the consecrated elements in solemn processions it rejects, as also the abuse of private masses. Sacramental significance is attributed to the traditional Liturgy for the Lord's Supper.

The two Evangelical Churches are completely at one in the rejection of all that is opposed to Scripture in the Roman Catholic Doctrine, namely, 1st, the representation of the Lord's Supper as a *sacrifice* whereby sins are remitted *ex opere operato*. In a certain sense it may be considered as a sacrifice of praise and thanksgiving, but not as a sin-offering, for in the New Testament there is 'no other sacrifice for sins, whether inherited or otherwise, but the death of Christ alone,' and this eternally effective sacrifice

of atonement needs no repetition. Besides this, 'the frightful abuses of private masses, and masses for souls, the traffic in masses, and the greed of gain of the clergy, the use of the Latin language which is not understood by the people are specially denounced' (*Conf. Aug.* xxiv.).[1] 2nd, *The withholding of the cup*, since the Sacrament is to be observed strictly in accordance with Christ's institution (*Conf. Aug.* xxii.). 3rd, of the Dogma of *Transubstantiation* and the *Adoration* of the consecrated host, which is founded on it, with all the ceremonies relating to it (*Art. Schmalk.* iii. 6, *Art. Church of England*, 28). 'The Sacrament of the Lord's Supper' was by Christ's ordinance neither reserved, carried about, lifted up or worshipped.'

A great difference, however, exists among Protestants on the question of the *nature of Christ's Presence* in the Lord's Supper. The views of Luther, Zwingli, and Calvin are as follows:—

The *Lutheran* doctrine, which stands nearest to the Roman Catholic, asserts a real and substantial presence of the body and blood of Christ, or of the whole God-man Christ *in*, *with*, and *among* the bread and wine containing His substance, which in some inexplicable manner is effected by the Divine Power at the time of *partaking* of the Sacrament. Accordingly to all communicants worthy and *unworthy*, the body and blood of Christ is truly offered, and by them received not only spiritually by faith, but bodily with the mouth and truly partaken ('non tamen capernaitice, sed supernaturali et coelesti modo, ratione sacramentalis unionis'), and on the part of the former for their salvation, of the latter for judgment.

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[1] *Schmalk. Art.* ii. 2.—'They feel indeed that when the mass falls, then perishes the papacy.' 'Above all this, this dragon's tail, the mass, has begotten much vermin and dirt, much idolatry' (that is purgatory, appearances of evil spirits as souls of the dead, pilgrimages, brotherhoods, worship of relics, indulgences, invoking of saints). *Heidelberg Catechism*, Qu. 80: 'And thus the mass is in fact nothing else than a denial of the one offering and suffering of Christ, and a cursed *idolatry*.' Article 31 of the Church of England says: 'The sacrifice of masses were blasphemous fables and dangerous deceits.'

This doctrine is founded on the application in a peculiar sense of the words used by Christ at the time of the institution, and on the divine omnipotence as well as on the doctrine of the 'communio naturarum,' and of the 'communicatio idiomatum,' according to which the body of Christ, who is exalted to the right hand of God, is present everywhere, and can thus offer Himself to be partaken of wherever he will. This representation of the ubiquity of the body of Christ has never, however, been universally accepted in the Lutheran Church (*Conf. Aug.* x., *Art. Schmalk.* iii. 6., *Cat. Maj.* v., *Form. Conc.* vii. and viii.).

The Reformed Church, in opposition to the Lutheran, as also to the Romish doctrine, denies the Real Presence of the body and blood of Christ in the Lord's Supper. This is most emphatically done by Zwingli, who sees nothing more in the Lord's Supper than a symbolical festival for the remembrance of the atoning death of Christ, and in the bread and wine mere signs; he explains the words of the institution as figurative, and accepts only such a spiritual partaking of the body and blood of Christ as is performed in faith by every true Christian. This doctrine is, however, only expressed, more or less definitely, in a few of the reformed confessions of faith (*Conf. Tetrap.* and *Helvet. prior*); the majority of them adopting the accommodating doctrine of Calvin, which is not only the dominant one in the Reformed Church, but which has also found much acceptance even in the Lutheran Church.

According to Calvin's doctrine, bread and wine are not merely empty signs, but *signa exhibitiva*, which really cause the spiritual partaking of the body and blood of Christ, who is thus actually present, not however bodily and substantially, but spiritually, in power and operation (*praesentia operativa*), so that there is no *manducatio oralis* by all partakers, but only a spiritual one on the part of the faithful. The Christian, who in faith is fit to receive heavenly treasures, receives through the operation of the Holy Spirit at the same time as the outward signs that which they represent, namely, the invisible heavenly food of the body and blood of Christ, and enters into a communion with Christ (although, as the Heidelberg Catechism says, 'He is in heaven and we are on earth'), in which the fulness of the Divine power of life flows over to him from it, whether it be that Christ in Spirit *descends* on man, or that man is spiritually *exalted* to Him in heaven. Hence the unbeliever receives nothing of the heavenly gift, but for the believer the bodily partaking is not merely a sign of remembrance, but at the same a *pledge* of the distribution of the heavenly gifts. Even

according to Calvin the words in question can only be understood figuratively. In opposition to the Lutheran doctrine of the Ubiquity of the body of Christ, the Reformed Church has more definitely distinguished the human and created from the Divine nature in Christ, and has consequently incurred from the Lutheran the charge of favouring the Nestorian heresy (*Helv. post.* 21, *Conf. March*, 8, etc.).

Even Melanchthon and his followers accepted later the Calvinistic view, and in more modern times it has been the endeavour of the Union[1] to prevent all strife about the Sacrament of the Communion of the Church with Christ and of the faithful with one another, by laying all stress on the *praesentia operativa Christi*, and dispensing with any strict definition of the nature and manner of this Presence.

[The Church of England is far from being unanimous on the subject; the Calvinistic doctrine seems to be held by the greater number, but among the Ritualists a view of the Real Presence is held that is nearer to that of the Romish Church than even to the Lutheran.—T.]

[1] That is of the Lutheran and Reformed Churches.

CHAPTER XIII

4. PENANCE (INCLUDING PURGATORY AND INDULGENCE)

THE judicial action of the priest in the Sacrament of Penance contributes almost as much to the glorification of the priestly office as does the offering of the Sacrifice of the Mass.

We are taught by the Tridentine Council (Sess. xiv.) and by the Roman Catechism (ii. 5), that this sacrament was appointed by Christ (John xx. 23) for the blotting out of all sins done wilfully after baptism. 'Est hoc sacramentum Poenitentiae lapsis post Baptismum ad salutem necessarium ut nondum regeneratis ipse Baptismus. Sunt autem quasi materia hujus sacramenti ipsius poenitentis actus; nempe contritio (cordis), confessio (oris), et satisfactio (operis). Synodus simul eorum sententias damnat, qui poenitentiae partes incussos conscientiae terrores et fidem esse contendunt. (Comp. *Conf. Aug.* xii.). The form in which the sacramental power lies is the absolution granted by the priest with these words: 'Ego te absolvo a peccatis tuis in nomine Patris, et Filii, et Spiritus Sancti.'

True contrition of the heart is only rarely to be found; the *attritio* (*i.e.* contritio imperfecta) which 'quamvis per se ad justificationem perducere peccatorem nequeat, tamen eum ad Dei gratiam in sacr. Poenit. impetrandam disponit,' is all sufficient (*Con. Trid.* S. xiv. c. 4). The *confessio oris* consists in this, that 'postquam quisquis diligentius se excusserit et conscientiae suae sinus omnes et latebras exploraverit, ea peccata confiteatur, quibus se Dominum et

Deum suum mortaliter offendisse meminerit; reliqua autem peccata quae diligenter cogitanti non occurrunt, in universum eadem confessione inclusa esse intelliguntur. Per Lateranense Concilium (1215) ecclesia statuit, ut praeceptum confessionis saltem *semel* in anno ab omnibus et singulis, cum ad annos discretionis pervenissent, impleretur, unde jam in universa ecclesia cum ingenti animarum fidelium fructu observatur mos ille salutaris confitendi sacro illo et maxime acceptabili tempore Quadragesimae; quem morem haec s. Synodus maxime probat et amplectitur tanquam pium et merito retinendum.' Penance for *sins of indulgence* (*peccata venialia*) is not necessary, although very useful; that for *deadly* sins however, even the most secret ones, with an account of all the accompanying circumstances, is necessary, *jure divino*, because the priest as the representative of Christ holds at the same time 'the position of a judge and of a physician,' and without sufficient knowledge of the moral state of the penitent could no more give a well grounded judgment than the necessary prescriptions for curing bodily ailments. *Absolution* is a *potestas ordinis*, the efficacy of which does not depend on the moral nature of the person who performs the *actus judicialis*. The bishop or priest may only exercise this power on those 'in quos ordinariam aut subdelegatam habet jurisdictionem.' For the benefit of Christian discipline it is declared 'ut atrociora quaedam et graviora crimina non a quibusvis, sed a summis duntaxat sacerdotibus absolverentur, unde merito Pontifices Max. pro suprema potestate sibi in ecclesia tradita causas aliquas criminum graviores suo potuerunt peculiari judicio reservare.' Only at the point of death (in articulo mortis) may any priest, without reservations, grant absolution. The *satisfactiones canonicae* consist in the penalties and chastisements which the priest inflicts on the penitent at absolution, 'non tantum ad novae vitae custodiam et infirmitatis medicamentum, sed etiam ad praeteritorum peccatorum vindictam et castigationem.' Although guilt and the eternal punishment connected with it is remitted by absolution, there still remain certain temporal punishments as consequences of sin; and these must be expiated in this world and in purgatory, because Divine Justice cannot pass over certain sins committed after baptism in the same way as it does over unconscious sins committed before, and because the mercy of God desires thereby to absolve man and to keep him henceforth from similar sins. 'Debent ergo sacerdotes Domini, quantum spiritus et prudentia suggesserit, pro qualitate criminum et poenitentium facultate salutares et convenientes satisfactiones injungere. Non solum poenis sponte a nobis

pro vindicando peccato susceptis, aut sacerdotis arbitrio pro mensura delicti impositis, sed etiam temporalibus flagellis a Deo inflictis et a nobis patienter toleratis, apud Deum patrem per Chr. J. satisfacere valemus.' Satisfaction is then only valid when the penitent is righteous and the friend of God, and when the works undertaken are connected with pain and suffering. Pride, the lust of the flesh, and the delight of the eye being capital sins: Prayer, fasting, and alms-giving are specially recommended as penitential exercises.

The Greek Church is in exact concordance with the Roman with regard to the Doctrine of Penance, although it does not so rigidly insist on the practice of confession.

With this doctrine of Penance is associated the dogma of Purgatory, formulated at Florence in 1439, and confirmed by the Council of Trent. 'Si quis post acceptam justificationis gratiam cuilibet peccatori poenitenti ita culpam remitti et reatum aeternae poenae deleri dixerit, ut nullus remaneat reatus poenae temporalis exsolvendae vel in hoc seculo vel in futuro in purgatorio,[1] antequam ad regna coelorum aditus pateri possit; anathema sit.' (*Con. Trid.* S. vi. c. 30). According to the Roman Cat. it is in the last part of the Penance the actual *satisfactio operis* that a vicarious expiation by virtue of the *communicatio sanctorum* can take place, which certainly amounts to a renunciation of the personally healing effect of the Atonement. In the *Decretum de Purgatorio* (S. xxv.) the Synod of Trent declares 'animas in purgatorio detentas fidelium suffragiis, potissimum vero acceptabili altaris sacrificio, juvari.' Manifestly the doctrine of Indulgences may be supported by the assertion of the possibility of

[1] According to the prevailing view of Roman theologians (Bellarmine and others) Purgatory is a material fire situated in the centre of the earth, above the fire of hell. According to the *Cat. Rom.* i. 6, the 'limbus infantum et patrum' is above the *purgatorium*.

a mediation of which the *Decr. de Indulgentiis* (S. xxv.) merely says, 'Cum potestas conferendi indulgentias a Christo ecclesiae concessa sit atque hujusmodi potestate, divinitus sibi tradita, antiquissimis temporibus illa usa fuerit: sacrosancta Synodus indulgentiarum usum, Christiano populo maxime salutarem, et sacrorum Conciliorum auctoritate probatum, in ecclesia retinendum esse docet.' Only it must be treated with reserve and caution, 'ne nimia facilitate Ecclesiastica disciplina enervetur'; also the bishops should inquire into the misuses of Indulgences that had crept in (quorum occasione hoc Indulgentiarum nomen ab haereticis blasphematur) such as were connected with base acquisition of money (pravos quaestus) or with superstition, ignorance, and frivolity, and submit them to the Pope for due correction. To this is attached a warning against the misuse of Indulgences.

The result of this system is that as the *satisfactiones canonicae* have to be considered in the relation of the sinner to God, so also the acquiring of Indulgences is not merely an affair of Church discipline, and is not merely a remission of ecclesiastical penances, but at the same time it has as a consequence a real remission of the punishments which God's justice demands. On this assumption we have an explanation of the effect of the indulgence on the torments of purgatory and the scholastic justification of Indulgences by the doctrine of the *thesaurus meritorum* or *satisfactionum*, out of which the Church grants to the sinner what he wants in order that God may receive at the same time a satisfaction of His demands on the sinner.

In the *ancient* Church, Indulgences really consisted only in shortening the time of penance which had been imposed by the Church on those who had fallen away from it but desired now to be readmitted into its communion. This indulgence was granted to those who had given sufficient proofs of contrition and amendment, and to whom the Church was consequently willing to extend her disciplinary designs. Since the foundation of the Church in Germany, it had been customary to allow penitential exercises and

satisfaction to be exchanged one for the other, or to substitute for them the so-called good works, fines of money, the amount of which was to be devoted to pious purposes, such as Church building, monasteries, etc.[1] Subsequently Urban II. (towards the end of the 11th century) promised to the participators in the Crusade a general and complete indulgence, and as the representations of the unlimited spiritual power of the pope and of the efficacy of the overflowing merits of Christ and of the Saints, of which the pope had the disposal, were universally diffused, it became a practice of the Church to distribute indulgences for money, church buildings, pilgrimages, and such like pious actions in general without regard to personal relations and without repentance preceding them; and the people believed that they thus obtained forgiveness of sins; it was forgotten that 'Indulgence for Sins' really meant a remission of canonical and temporal punishments.

The Greek Church, although it rejects *Indulgences* as also the notion of a *purifying fire*, at the same time acknowledges an intermediate state for departed souls which have not yet been perfectly purified, and ascribes to the pious actions of the living, such as masses and church-prayers, the power of shortening the spiritual pain of this intermediate state. The Reformation in Germany, as well as in Switzerland, began with the combat against the soul-destroying abuse of Indulgences. As the principle of Indulgence is bound up with the Sacrament of Penance, and as this is merely the practical carrying out of the theory of Justification, the strife about Indulgences led immediately to the rejection of the Roman doctrines of penance and justification.

The first of the 95 theses of Luther of the 31st October 1517 runs thus:—'Dominus et magister noster Jesus Christus, dicendo: "Poenitentiam agite, etc." omnem vitam fidelium poenitentiam

[1] The introduction of fines is explained by the old German law which permitted money payments (*Wehrgeld*) as an expiation of crimes.

esse voluit.' The 62nd thesis: 'Verus thesaurus ecclesiae est sacrosanctum evangelium gloriae et gratiae Dei.'

In the doctrine of Penance all the real errors and evils of the Roman Church are brought to light. Its outward observance of the Gospel and the Jewish transformation of it into a *nova lex*, its superficial comprehension of the nature of Sin and of Virtue, and the Pelagian depreciation of the merits of Christ, its hierarchical tyranny which takes away all freedom of conscience and religious independence, and (as is brought out in the *Schmalk. Art.* iii.) its greed of money.

The doctrine of the Evangelical Church transfers repentance completely to man's own soul. 'Constat poenitentia proprie his duabus partibus; altera est contritio seu terrores incussi conscientiae agnito peccato; altera est fides, quae concipitur ex evangelio seu absolutione et credit propter Christum remitti peccata et consolatur conscientiam et ex terroribus liberat. Deinde sequi debent bona opera, quae sunt fructus poenitentiae' (*Conf. Aug.* xii.).

Repentance therefore, in the Evangelical sense of the term, consists in: *contritio*, *fides*, and *nova obedientia*; or according to Calvin: *mortificatio* and *vivificatio*, which must be preceded by faith, since true and hearty repentance is not possible without the certainty of Divine grace and love.

Private confessions and absolution have been retained in the Lutheran Church as wholesome ecclesiastical ordinances without any sacramental character; still they are not insisted on as absolutely necessary, and their effect is in fact made dependent on the inner consciousness. The Evangelical Church does not mistake the blessing of the open expression of that which oppresses the heart, and the wholesome opportunity for the care of souls which the hearing of confession offers to youth; but the law of auricular confession, which demands the enumeration of all separate sins before the priest as a condition of absolution, is expressly rejected, because it demands that which is impossible, favouring a false representation of the essence of sin and disquieting to the conscience. (*Conf. Aug.* xi., *App.* vi., *Art. Schmalk.* iii. 8.) Absolution

in itself is nothing else than the application of the Gospel—the declaration of the will of God to the repentant and believing sinner that he will forgive sins for Christ's sake. 'Absolution is a voice of the Gospel, by which we receive consolation, and is only a judgment or law.' It is no *annuntiatio judiciaria* of the confessor as a spiritual judge,—'God is the judge,' whose judgment is made known in the conscience,—but only the *declarativa* of a minister of the word, and merely hypothetical—absolution being only possible on condition of believing.

The doctrine of 'satisfaction,' as well as those of purgatory and indulgence, being like them based on the assumption of the necessity of human satisfaction in addition to atonement through Christ for the remission of sins, is most emphatically repudiated in all evangelical confessions.

CHAPTER XIV

5. EXTREME UNCTION

THE Roman Church founds the Sacrament of *Extreme Unction* on Mark vi. 13, James v. 14, and on tradition. The priest anoints the eyes, the ears, the nose, mouth, and hands of the sick person, who fears the approach of death, with oil consecrated by the bishop, saying these words: 'Per istam sanctam unctionem indulgeat tibi Deus, quidquid oculorum, sive narium, sive tactus vitio deliquisti.' Repetition in one and the same illness is not allowable; Confession and the Lord's Supper must always precede Extreme Unction (*Con. Trid.* S. xiv., *Cat. Rom.* ii. 1). The Greek Church looks upon this sacrament more as a mystical cure for all sickness, to be repeated from time to time with prayer for their restoration; on which account it is not called ἐσχάτη χρῖσις, but εὐχέλαιον, or, anointing with prayer.

The Evangelical Church has not only rejected extreme unction as a sacrament, but has completely abolished it. It does not acknowledge the advice of James relating to the treatment of the sick as a *mandatum Dei*.

6. CONSECRATION OF PRIESTS.

The Tridentine Synod founds the necessity of a visible priesthood in the new covenant on the reference to the

visible sacrifice of the Eucharist. This priesthood, not a mere preaching office, was ordained by Christ, who gave to the Apostles and to their successors the *potestas ordinis* (which relates to everything belonging to the celebration of the Sacrifice of the Mass) and *jurisdictionis* (that is the power of remitting and of retaining sins and of governing the Christian people), and therewith a dignity which is unequalled on earth. As *priests* and *judges* they are 'interpretes et mediatores Dei et hominum.'

The *Catechism. Rom.* ii. 7, answers the question: 'Estne ulla dignitas sacerdotii ordine in terris excellentior?' in the following manner: 'Cum episcopi et sacerdotes tanquam Dei interpretes et internuntii quidam sint, qui ejus nomine divinam legem et vitae praecepta homines edocent et ipsius Dei personam in terris gerunt; perspicuum est, eam esse illorum functionem, qua nulla major excogitari possit, quare merito non solum angeli, sed Dii etiam, quod Dei immortalis vim et numen apud nos teneant, appellantur. Potestas enim tum corpus et sanguinem Domini nostri conficiendi et offerendi, tum peccata remittendi, quae illis collata est, humanam quoque rationem atque intelligentiam superat, nedum ei aliquid par et simile in terris inveniri queat.'

From this position of the priesthood necessarily follows the significance of the Consecration of Priests, on which in a certain sense all other sacraments depend. That Ordination is a sacrament is argued by the same Synod on the ground that according to the testimony of Holy Scripture (II. Tim. i. 6 and I. Tim. iv. 14), and to Apostolical tradition, in words and in outward signs, a supernatural grace (the *gratia sanctificationis* and therewith the capacity of administering the holy office) is really communicated.

As the Church from its commencement had seven offices, rising by steps to the priesthood, viz., the Ostiarii, Lectores, Exorcistae, Acolythi (these four offices were called 'minor,' and not sacred), Subdiaconi, Diaconi, and Sacerdotes, the consecrations for them were different. The bishop hands to those to be consecrated the sacred utensils, which signify the official duties of those advanced to the various grades, with solemn words of appointment, which are different for the different offices. The duty of celibacy is imposed on the three higher orders. At the consecration of the priest the

bishop lays his hands on him, puts on his stole, anoints his hands with oil, and then hands to him the cup with wine and the paten with the host, saying these words, 'Accipe potestatem offerendi sacrificium Deo missasque celebrandi tam pro vivis quam pro defunctis,' and then, while again laying on his hands, says, 'Accipe spiritum sanctum; quorum remiseris peccata, remittuntur eis, et quorum retinueris, retenta sunt.'[1] By this sacrament there is impressed on the soul a character, 'qui nec deleri nec auferri potest, the priest becoming thereby so different from all other Christians, that, having been once ordained, he could never again become a layman. It is expressly stated by the Synod, 'in ordinatione episcoporum, sacerdotum et caeterorum ordinum nec populi nec cujusvis saecularis potestatis et magistratus consensum, sive vocationem sive auctoritatem, ita requiri ut sine ea irrita sit ordinatio.' (S. xxii., c. 1-4.)

The Greek Church has not indeed forgotten the *universal* priesthood of all believing Christians, but at the same time it declares the *sacramental* priesthood and consecration as an ordinance of Christ. Marriage *once* (1 Tim. iii. 12) is allowed to Deacons and to Priests;[2] the Bishops are however chosen from the rank of μόναχοι, πάρθενοι and σώφρονες. Hence the sharp distinction between the '*white*,' or secular clergy, and the '*black*,' or monastic.

The Lutheran Church, on the other hand, as it only acknowledges a universal and equal priesthood of *all* believers, and declares the perpetual offering of the Sacrifice of Christ in the mass to be unscriptural, has no priestly office, and consequently no ceremony of consecration. It finds in Scripture only a 'ministerium docendi evangelium et porrigendi sacramenta,' a public office for teaching, which

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[1] The further consecrations to the dignity of a bishop and to the other higher offices rest on no *special* sacrament.

[2] In the Russian Church it has become the rule for the Clergyman (Pope) to be married before his consecration, and after the death of his wife to resign his office.

only those are entitled to hold who have received a regular call on the part of the congregation (*Conf. Aug.* xiv.). It has retained the ancient significant practice of consecration and the introduction of ministers of the church, although it denies that it is appointed by Christ, and that the promise has a special effect of Divine Grace. *Ordination* is declared to be only the public and solemn confirmation and announcement of the formal call which proceeds from the congregation. (De potestate et jurisdictione episcoporum. Supplement to the *Art. Schmalk.*) The ministers are free to marry (*Conf. Aug.* xxiii.).

[The Church of Englands holds a middle position with regard to the priesthood. It has always laid some stress on Apostolical Succession, and many of its members consider that the priest is in reality a *sacerdos*. Still the general belief is that the word *priest* as used in its formularies is nothing but an abbreviation of *presbyter*, and it asserts with the other Evangelical Churches the universality of the priesthood in all Christians. The priesthood does not, however, possess or claim the tyrannical power which it does in the Church of Rome.—T.]

7. MARRIAGE.

The Roman Church endeavours to prove from Ephesians v. 32, which is thus translated in the Vulgate: '*Sacramentum* hoc magnum est; ego autem dico in Christo et ecclesia'), that marriage is a sacramental act.

On the substance and form of this Sacrament neither the Council of Trent nor the Roman Catechism speaks out plainly. According to the prevalent view, the mutual agreement of the parties about to marry constitutes the substance, and the words and signs by which this agreement is acknowledged in the presence of the priest (a priest's blessing is not unconditionally necessary) are the form of the sacrament in which the operation of Divine Grace consists in the sanctification of the married couple, and confirms the *indissolubility* of the perfect union. Thus the Roman Church acknowledges dissolution of marriage by death alone; but it permits a temporary

separation (separationem quoad torum ad certum incertumve tempus). *Causae matrimoniales* must be decided in the ecclesiastical courts. Among the hindrances to marriage are also reckoned the spiritual relationship which arises from sponsorship in baptism and confirmation. (*Con. Trid.* S. xxiv.)

The Greek Church also holds marriage to be indissoluble, although it grants divorce in accordance with Matt. v. 32, on the ground of adultery.

The Lutheran Church declares marriage to be a divine institution from the creation of the world, and regards the Church's blessing on it as a pious custom, but not as a sacrament of the New Testament. Legislation regarding marriage is referred to the Civil Authority.

'Marriage and wedlock being therefore a *worldly affair*, it behoves us clergymen or ministers to ordain or direct nothing therein, but to allow each town and country to have its own practice and custom at will. . . . But when we are requested to bless them before the congregation, or in the churches, to pray over them, or even to perform the marriage ceremony, then we are bound to do so. (Luther's *Traubüchlein*, Supplement to the Shorter Catechism.) The bishops have the jurisdiction in marriage affairs *humano jure* only; it belongs originally, and *jure divino*, to the civil power, which is bound to undertake it again since the bishops have perplexed and troubled men's consciences with their unjust ordinances. (*De potest. et jurid.* See also *Conf. Aug.* xxviii.) But even in the Lutheran Church jurisdiction in matrimonial affairs remained in the hands of the Consistories until in the present century it was handed over to the civil authorities, with here and there the co-operation of clerical members. The marriage ceremony was performed by the clergy according to rule. By a law of the 6th of February 1875 *Civil* marriage was made obligatory throughout the German Empire, and the whole jurisdiction of marriage exclusively assigned to the civil tribunals.

[Though in this country legislation has tended in the same direction as in Germany, civil marriage is only allowable, but not compulsory, although registration is. The Church of England does not go so far as the Roman in considering marriage as a sacrament; it considers it, however, an affair of the Church.—T.]

CHAPTER XV

ADORATION OF ANGELS AND SAINTS, RELICS AND IMAGES

THE fact of the worship of Angels and Saints as well as of Relics and Images being not only recommended but even enjoined by the Roman and Greek Churches, while, on the other hand, it has been rejected as idolatrous by the Evangelical Churches, has had a considerable influence on the form of religious worship established by the various confessions of faith.

According to the Roman Catholic doctrine it is seemly for the Christian to turn in prayer to the Angels, who, as God's ministers in the government of the world and of the Church, see God face to face, and show their love to us in the providence entrusted to them for our safety, while they bring our prayers and our tears before Him. It is also good and useful to invoke the *Saints* who rule in heaven together with Christ, and offer to God their intercessions for men (suppliciter invocare et ob beneficia impetranda a Deo per filium ejus Jesum Christum, D. n., qui solus noster redemptor et salvator est, ad eorum orationes opem auxiliumque confugere). By means of their own merits, and of the favour in which they stand with God, the Saints, and more especially the Holy Virgin, the 'Mother of God,' are in a position to procure us benefits which God without such a mediation would not confer on men. What applies to the Saints applies also to their *Relics*, and by means of them God bestows much good on men. The miraculous power, which, during the lifetime of the Saints, was manifested in their clothes and napkins, even in their shadows, often continues to operate by their bones and other remains. Lastly, as regards the Images of Christ, of the Holy Virgin, and of other Saints, they should be the objects of adoration, not as if divine being or power dwelt in them so that

we could obtain anything from them by prayer, or put our trust in them (that would be heathenish), but that every honour paid to them must be referred to the prototypes (originals) which they represented. (*Con. Trid.* S. xxv. De invocatione et veneratione et reliquiis sanctorum et sacris imaginibus. *Cat. Rom.* iii. c. 2. de primo praecepto qu. 4-14.)

The practice of the Roman Catholic Church goes beyond this very restricted theory of Church Doctrine. Even in the *Prof. fid. Trid.* the adoration of Saints is made a religious duty, and by the solemn act of canonisation,[1] public adoration, festivals, dedication of churches, and other honours are formally offered to the Saints, and in the Roman Missal and Breviaries the Invocation of Mary is used in a manner which derogates from the honours due to God and to Christ. It is true that the Roman Church, as well as the Greek, in accordance with the Second Nicene Council (787), makes a distinction between the worship of God and of Christ, to whom alone λατρεία belongs, worship or adoration, and the honouring of Saints, to whom it offers only δουλεία, invocatio et veneratio (where, however, it is to be remarked that for Mary a ὑπερδουλεία, an honouring in the highest sense, is demanded), so that in prayer directed to God and to Christ the formula 'Miserere nobis, audi nos' is used, while for those directed to the Saints the formula is 'Ora pro nobis.' But how easily is this boundary overleapt (as in the Roman Catechism itself the word *colere* is used even of the Saints), how easily does the protecting Saint take the place of Christ, and how nearly do the so-called 'grace images,' to which a supernatural power of working miracles is attributed, approach to idolatry! The invocation of the holy 'helper in the time of need' takes the place of the worship of God in spirit and in truth.

The Greek Church thoroughly agrees with the Roman in the honouring of saints, relics, and images, only that it knows nothing of the *canonisation* of saints, and allows no graven or moulded figures, but only painted and mosaic pictures, after the traditional archaic style. It also rejects the use of musical instruments in the church. The Lutheran Church distinctly rejects the unchristian and mischievous superstition which has been connected with all this. The Augsburg Confession (xxi.) teaches, with regard to the worship of saints, that 'we should think of the saints in such a way that we may strengthen our faith, as we see how grace was con-

[1] Since the 12th Century the Pope has had the exclusive right of canonisation, which is preceded by Beatification.

ferred on them, and how they were helped by faith, in order that we may take example from their good works, *each according to his calling*. . . . But it cannot be proved from Scripture that the saints should be *invoked*, or that help should be sought from them, for there is only one reconciler and mediator between God and man, namely, Jesus Christ' (*Apol.* ix., *Art. Schmalk.* ii. 2, Luther calls the invocation of saints an *antichristian* abuse and idolatry). The Reformed Church, which from Zwingli's first appearance as a reformer in Einsiedeln, the place of pilgrimage of 'the Mother of God,' made a decided stand against Paganism or deification of the creature, has laid down the strictest rules for the honouring of God alone, according to Scripture, and has, in fact, turned everything symbolical out of the churches (*Helv. post.* iv. v.), which led to a rigorous banishment of all art out of the region of divine worship, while the Lutheran Church knew how to value its significance (especially that of music) for religious edification.

[The Church of England is here nearer to the Lutheran Church, while the Church of Scotland, which so long followed in the steps of the Reformed Church, is being conquered by the spirit of Æsthetics.—T.]

PART III

DOCTRINES OF THE MOST IMPORTANT SECTS

CHAPTER XVI

THE CHRISTOLOGICAL SECTS OF THE ANCIENT CHURCH

Of the Christological controversies of the fifth to the seventh century the following have survived to the present day.

1. *The Nestorians.*

Many of the bishops and churches in Asia Minor, Syria, and Arabia, and the whole of Persia declared themselves in favour of the doctrine of the Patriarch Nestorius, who died in 440 at Constantinople. He was excommunicated at the third Oecumenical Council at Ephesus in 431 for denying the perfect union of the two natures in Christ. The Nestorians who still remained after all the popular tumults in Kurdistan were called Chaldean Christians on account of their Chaldee-Syriac church language, and have been since 1575 under the two patriarchs of Elkusch, near Mosul, and of Urumia. Those who were driven into Eastern India were called Thomas-Christians (either after the name of one of their first teachers or that of the well-known Apostle). Since the year 1551 some of the Nestorians, called by way of distinction Chaldean Christians, have joined the Church of Rome, and are under the direction of the patriarch of Diarbekir. In 1892 the Nestorian patriarch of Constantinople also entered into communion with the Pope.

The Nestorians are distinguished by a flourishing theology. The cautious separation of the divine and the human in Christ favoured a freer exposition of Scripture. They consider Holy Scripture as the only source of knowledge of Christian doctrine, and have a simpler form of worship than that of the orthodox Greeks. Besides Baptism and the Lord's Supper, they acknowledge no other sacrament

than the consecration of priests (without the obligation to celibacy). Some remains of ancient customs have been retained by them; the Thomas-Christians, for example, having adopted the Agape of the primitive Christian community.

2. *Monophysites.*

This sect does not agree to the resolutions of the Council of Chalcedon (451) against the mingling of the two natures in Christ. It is divided into

(*a*) The Armenians or the Gregorian Church (so called from Gregory the Illuminator). The Armenian Christians, widely dispersed by political necessities and the interests of trade, are under five patriarchs, the most important of whom, the 'Catholicos,' has his seat in the monastery of Etschomiadzin, not far from Erivan. Traces of antiquity, such as the observance of the festival of the Epiphany (Jan. 6th) instead of Christmas, are still to be found in their religious services.

The *United* Armenians are those who, since the Council of Florence (1439), have acknowledged the Primacy of the Pope and the dogmas of the Roman Church, but have retained their ancient national liturgy. Their Patriarch has his seat at Constantinople. At the election of a bishop they have recently been divided into Hassunists and Antihassunists.

(*b*) The Copts in Egypt are under an Alexandrian Patriarch, who is looked upon as the successor of St. Mark, and generally resides in Cairo. Those of Upper Egypt have retained among their ancient customs even the ancient Egyptian ceremony of circumcision.

(*c*) The Abyssinian Christians in Tyre, Amhara, Schoa, and Nubia, receive their 'Abuna,' who resides in Gondar, from the Coptic Patriarch. Of all the Christian religious sects, this one has preserved the most relics of Judaism—(besides circumcision they have also the Sabbath, abstention from the use of blood and the flesh of swine, etc.). Their canon includes also some of the apocryphal writings, such as the Book of Enoch, the 4th Book of Ezra, and the Ascension of Isaiah. The moral and religious condition of the Abyssinian is very degraded; superstitions of all kinds and ceremonies have produced a caricature of Christianity.

(*d*) The Jacobites in Syria, Mesopotamia, and Persia (so called from Jacob Baradai, Bishop of Edessa, who died in 578), are under a patriarch of Antioch, who lives, however, in a monastery at Mardin, to the north-west of Mosul. They reject the resolutions of the Council of Chalcedon, and acknowledge those of the Robber synod (449). Even among them Rome has worked with some effect towards a union with the Western Church.

3. *Monotheletes* (*Maronites*).

In the Sixth Œcumenical Council at Constantinople, A.D. 680, the doctrine of two wills answering to the two natures of Christ was announced as orthodox. Adherents of the doctrine of *one* will in Christ (*μόνη θέλησις*) assembled in the Lebanon around the monastery of St. Maro, an abbot of the sixth century, and defended themselves valiantly against the attacks of the Greeks, and of the Arabians, and, in more modern times, also against the Mohammedan sect of the Druses.

Even at the time of the Crusades the Maronites entered into a connection with the Roman Church ; but their complete union with it since 1445 could not rob them of their ancient Syriac church language, their simple manner of life, and a certain independence under their 'Patriarch of Antioch' (who is appointed by the Pope, and who lives in a monastery of Lebanon).

CHAPTER XVII

SECTS OF THE ROMAN CATHOLIC CHURCH

Opposition against the hierarchy and the Papacy, and a desire for the restoration of apostolic Christianity and of the original evangelical doctrine, led even before the Reformation to the formation of sects, two of which still exist, namely :—

1. *The Waldensians.*

Peter Waldus, a wealthy merchant in Lyons, awakened by a diligent study of Scripture, resolved in 1170 on an imitation of apostolic life and the foundation of a union for the announcement of the pure Gospel among the poor country people. The followers gained by his preaching (pauperes de Lugduno) disseminated their simple doctrine and the rules of their community, together with their resistance to the corrupted condition of the hierarchical church, throughout Southern France, Upper Italy, and Germany. Since 1183 they have been repeatedly excommunicated by the papal councils.

In their desire to bring back the Church to apostolic purity, and to practise evangelical perfection according to the doctrine and example of Jesus, they applied themselves to a diligent reading of Scripture and to free apostolic preaching, in which they declared themselves justified even as laymen.

They found authority in Scripture for the spiritual priesthood of all the faithful, but not for the prerogatives of the clergy and the sovereignty of the Pope. They rejected auricular confession, indulgences, prayers for the dead, worship of the saints, offering of

the mass, and the doctrine of purgatory; they celebrated the Lord's Supper in both kinds; they taught that God's grace was to be obtained by faith, repentance, and diligence in godliness, and not by penances, fastings, alms, etc. As a motive for all moral dealing they demanded love to God, and guided themselves in practice strictly according to the precepts of Jesus, especially those in the Sermon on the Mount. Their Church constitution was formed according to apostolic pattern; even the teachers in the Church gained their bread by the work of their own hands; Church institutions and the poor were maintained by .voluntary contributions. In more modern times their organisation resembles that of the evangelical churches. After centuries of persecution and oppression, attended in many cases with much bloodshed, they found refuge at last in the valleys and mountains of Piedmont for the simple worship of their fathers and for reading the Bible. Since the middle of the seventeenth century they have entered into close connection with the Reformed Church of Southern France; since 1860 they have begun, under the protection of Piedmont, to attack Romanism, and since the union of Italy they have stood at the head of the Evangelical Propaganda in that country.

2. *The Bohemian or Moravian Brethren.*

The remnant of the Hussites of Tabor, who had not been accepted by the compacts of Basle in 1433, and had been completely defeated in 1434 at the Bohemian Brod, formed themselves in 1457 into communities. The *Unitas fratrum* which had at first assembled on the Silesian and Moravian boundaries of Bohemia, soon received accessions from all parts of Bohemia and Moravia. In the repeated severe persecutions they saved themselves by patient submission and retirement into the caves and deserts (hence they were called 'Grubenheimers') or by emigration to Poland and Prussia. In the Thirty Years War their churches in Bohemia were completely destroyed, and their last bishop, Johann Comenius, especially renowned for his services in the cause of education, had to fly. He died in 1671. The emigrants formed 'Bohemian churches' in Dresden, Zittau, Berlin, and in other places. The brethren who took refuge in the year 1722 on the estate of Count Zinzendorf (Berthelsdorf in Oberlausitz) were the originators of the so-called 'Brotherhood.'

They had discontinued the fanatical extravagance of

the early Taborites, insisting only on a diligent study of the Bible, and on a strictly moral and inwardly pious life, to the maintenance of which a strict church discipline was held necessary. In spite of their opposition to the Roman Catholic Hierarchy, they have always shown themselves ready for peace.

The following have separated from the Church of Rome since the Reformation :—

3. *The Jansenists.*

They were the followers of Cornelius Jansen, Bishop of Ypres, who died in 1638, and who by his work entitled 'Augustinus' had opened an attack on the Pelagian tenets of the Jesuits; being oppressed in France they formed a community in the Netherlands, who, since 1723, had an Archbishop of their own at Utrecht.

In 1742 they founded the bishopric of Haarlem, and in 1758 that of Deventer. They reject papal *Infallibility* with regard to matters of fact, and acknowledge the Augustinian doctrine of sin and of grace, and the principles of the Gallican Church, but in other things they agree with the doctrines of the Roman Church, in communion with which they desire to remain. When, in reply to their assurance of faithful submission to the Pope, the answer of Rome is always a repetition of the excommunication pronounced against them, they declare it unjust and invalid.

The attention of the 'Old Catholics,' when they determined on choosing their own bishops, was attracted to this sect, which was becoming almost extinct, from its offering to insure the apostolical succession by consecrating the newly created Old Catholic Bishops.

4. *The German Catholics.*

The exhibition of the 'seamless holy coat' at Treves in the year 1844 gave an opportunity to John Ronge, a chaplain in Upper

Silesia, who had disagreed with Roman Catholicism, to send an open letter to Bishop Arnold of Treves, in which he warmly declaimed against relics and pilgrimages, and called for the formation of a free catholic church. Shortly before this, a priest named Czerski at Schneidermühl, who had been suspended on account of his marriage, declared his separation from the Roman Church and founded a special 'Christian Catholic' Church, which should maintain the fundamental doctrines of the ancient orthodoxy. The churches founded by Ronge at Breslau and most of the German Catholic communities, which followed in rapid succession, accepted confession of a thoroughly rationalistic tendency. The first 'Church assembly' of the German Catholics at Easter 1845 in Leipzig brought about a public disavowal on the part of Czerski of the Leipzig Confession, which denied the divinity of Christ. The difference between Czerski and Ronge was outwardly adjusted, but the disfavour of the governments and the political events of 1848 stopped the further development of the new society, which manifestly suffered from the beginning from a want of solidity and earnestness, nor did the union of the German Catholics at Cöthen in 1850 with Protestant free churches avail to prevent the failure of the movement.

5. *The Old Catholics.*

The Catholics of Germany and Switzerland, who declared the acceptance of the Dogma of the Infallibility of the Pope which was proclaimed by the Vatican Council, July 18th, 1870, to be a departure from the faith of the Old Church, have, since 1871, united themselves into congregations, who claim to be the legitimate continuation of the Catholic Church, and have received State acknowledgment both in Prussia and in Baden.

They are under their own bishops, and hold yearly synods, which deliberate on reforms of doctrine, constitution, and worship, as they soon perceived that the new Dogma was only the latest development of principles and schemes that had been at work for a long time. Neither the outward nor inner development of Old Catholicism has as yet reached its final form. Its adherents are most numerous in Switzerland.

CHAPTER XVIII

SECTS ARISING FROM THE GREEK (RUSSIAN) CHURCH

SINCE the separation of the Greek from the Roman Church it is only in the Russian Church that any important sects have arisen. The principal one is that of the 'Raskolnics' (apostates), who call themselves 'Starowerzers' (old believers).

The Russian Church authorities attach the greatest importance to a strict adherence to traditional forms and ceremonies in the divine service. In order to purify their Liturgy from everything which departed from the old traditional Greek Liturgy, the patriarch Nikon undertook a revision of the service books, and the Councils of 1664 and 1666 confirmed and introduced it. Many Russians, discontented with this 'improvement,' separated from the Church and formed a large sect, which, after a short time, became subdivided into more than twenty smaller ones.

Their opposition to the dominant church is principally with regard to ritual expressions and practices, but arose nearly as much out of the desire for self-government within the Church. A party of the Raskolnics, the 'Bespopovzy,' has for this cause done away completely with the *clerical order*. They all wish to have a church of the people, free from *Hierarchy*.

Frightful persecutions tended only to inflame their fanaticism. Catherine II. granted them tolerance in 1762; and they have since become more temperate and orderly. Their number is estimated at nine millions, constituting in some provinces the majority of the population.

The *Philipponians*, so called from a peasant named Philipp, who became a monk, are a very strict sect of the Raskolnics. They will neither pray for the emperor, nor take an oath, nor serve in the army. Bitter persecutions drove some of them into East Prussia. The suicidal fanaticism, which was formerly so notorious among them, as well as in some other sects (self-burning, child-murder, self-mutilation), has mostly disappeared since the discontinuance of persecution. Such horrors are now only heard of among the Skopzes, a sect which arose in the time of Catherine II.

Another sect deserving special notice is that of the Duchoborzes (*i.e.* strivers after the Spirit), which arose in the eighteenth century. They wished, like the Quakers, to have a *Spiritual Church*, without popes and outward sacraments; they repudiated oaths and military service, and appealed to Scripture for an inner light. Since the time of Alexander I. they have enjoyed toleration.

Since the middle of this century a similar sect, that of the 'Stundists,' excited in the first instance by German pietistic teachers, has spread widely in middle and southern Russia among the inhabitants of the villages and smaller towns. They hold their services in private houses, rejecting church worship as well as priests and pastors. The exposition of Scripture and the improvising of sermons and prayers are open to every member of the congregation. In late years the strictest measures have been employed for their suppression, as also against the adherents of Count L. N. Tolstoy and of the peasant Sutajeff, who repudiate the state of modern society, and all civilisation, and desire to lead mankind back to the simplest modes of life and to universal philanthropy.

CHAPTER XIX

SECTS WHICH HAVE ARISEN FROM THE REFORMATION MOVEMENT OF THE SIXTEENTH CENTURY

RELIGIOUS and political radicalism, discontented with the progress of the Reformation in general, and demanding a more logical carrying out of Protestant principles in the constitution and doctrine of the Church, led to the formation of the following sects at the time of the Reformation :—

1. *The Anabaptists or Mennonites.*

The demand for *subjective* faith as a necessary condition for the worthy reception of the sacraments induced many people to consider the baptism of children a worthless ceremony and unscriptural, and to the practice of *baptizing again* those who had been baptized in infancy (hence the name 'Anabaptists' from *ἀναβαπτίζειν*, to baptize again), requiring, at the same time, *complete immersion* as the original mode of performing this rite. Among the various communities of which this sect consisted, millenarian and levelling tendencies were to be found by the side of those of a moral and practical character.

The rise of the Zwickau 'fanatics,' 1521, who put their visions and revelations above scripture, the mischief created not long afterwards by Thomas Münzer, and the frightful disorders of the Dutch Millenarians in Munster, 1534, led to a rigorous persecution of the anabaptists, ending in their almost total extinction.

About the year 1537 Menno Simoni, formerly a Roman Catholic priest in Friesland, who died in 1561, united the scattered anabaptists into strictly-defined communities, which, since 1578, have spread and been tolerated in Holland, and later also in Prussia, the Palatinate, Bavaria, and Russia. In modern times many of them have emigrated to North America.

Of the Mennonites who adhere to the original and strict Church discipline of a community of 'Saints,' but few now remain. The Waterlanders who advocated a more liberal discipline soon separated themselves from the more rigid Flemings, and at the present time the majority only continue the rejection of infant baptism and the refusal to take oaths, but allow the acceptance of offices of authority and military service. There was also another sect, who called themselves 'Free Baptists,' who set the 'inner word' or 'inner voice,' above the letter of Scripture, and paid but little regard to positive dogmas and church customs. They were an outgrowth of the German Mysticism, and came into Germany through John Denck, Sebastian Franck, and the Silesian nobleman, Caspar von Schwenkfeld, who died 1561. Adherents of the last mentioned ('Schwenkfeldians,') are found to this day in Silesia and in North America.

2. *Presbyterians and Independents.*

Among those who had embraced the principles of Calvinism there were some who were very much discontented with the constitution and liturgy of the Anglican Church. The persecution to which these objectors, *i.e.* the *Puritans*, who desired a simpler form of worship purged from all things catholic, were subjected by the *Act of Uniformity* of 1562, made the evil still worse. The opponents to this Act were called *Nonconformists*. The *high church* party, who declared Episcopal Government to be a divine ordinance and the unbroken succession of bishops from the time of the Apostles an essential mark of the true church, opposed the *Presbyterians*, who looked upon all ministers of the church as perfectly equal, and desired to purify not only the church government, but also public worship from all 'papistical' innovations such as sacerdotal vestments, etc., formularies of prayer, bells, organs, and church festivals, with the exception of the observation of the Sunday, which was to be kept like the

Jewish Sabbath, etc. In Scotland the Presbyterian system was generally introduced in 1592.

From the ever increasing number of these presbyterians a sect was formed in 1581, under Robert Brown, called 'Independents,' or 'Congregationalists,' who, while holding strictly to the doctrine of Calvin, rejected not only Episcopacy, but also the whole system of representative church government by Presbyteries and Synods. They declared each community to be a true church independent of others, the ministers, the doctrine, and the worship depending only on the majority of votes of the congregation,—in short, a perfect *ecclesiastical democracy*. Since 1616, through the influence of John Robinson, their tenets and practice have been very strict, and in the sequel the Presbyterians have diminished in England, in proportion as the Independents have increased in number. The irritation of the Nonconformists caused by the measures of James I. and of Charles I. led to the great revolution in which Oliver Cromwell, the chief of the Independents, who were utterly averse to presbyterian uniformity, established a republic in England, and introduced religious liberty from which only the papacy and episcopalism were excluded. The reaction under Charles II. introduced a new and rigid Act of Uniformity, and, in 1673, the Test Act, which excluded from public offices every one who had not acknowledged by oath the Supremacy, and partaken of the Lord's Supper in an Episcopal Church. The enforcement of this edict was left in abeyance under James II. in favour of papists, but under William III. the Act of Toleration was passed, by which religious liberty was granted to all denominations, with the sole exception of Roman Catholics and Socinians, on condition of payment of tithes to the Established Church. The 'Test Act' remained in force with some modifications until it was finally repealed in 1828.

One principle, common to all Nonconformists or 'dissenters,' consists not so much in doctrine as in the constitution of the church, called the 'Voluntary System.' They repudiate all support from the State, and know nothing of the Church as an incorporated Institution for Salvation, and a ministry independent of the congregation or a formulated confession of faith; on the other hand

they demand from all living members of Christ an active co-operation for the promotion of His Kingdom.

This old puritanical spirit is still at work. Thus, in 1843, in consequence of their opposition to the right of Church patrons to obtrude on the congregation a minister to whom they objected, the 'Free Church' of Scotland claiming to be the true Scottish National Church, was founded in 1843 by Thomas Chalmers. In the number of its members it was nearly equal to the Established Church.[1] Here, as in the 'Eglise libre évangélique' of the Pays de Vaud and of France, founded in 1845, is manifested the principle of the unconditional independence of the Church and the voluntary action of its members.

While the dissenters strove after a logical carrying out of Protestant principles, a party has been formed in the Anglican Church since 1833 under the guidance of Dr. Pusey and others, some of whom went over to the Roman Church, while others as ritualists strive to make the ritual of the Church of England conformable to that of Rome, and to accustom the people to Romish institutions, such as auricular confession and the elevation of the elements in the Lord's Supper. Most of the Bishops, as well as the 'Low Church' party,[2] are endeavouring to check this tendency.

3. *Socinians or Unitarians.*

The doctrine of the Trinity, which the Reformers had accepted unaltered from the old Church, found many opponents, especially in Northern Italy. These 'Anti-

[1] It is hardly correct to say that the Free Church was founded by Chalmers, though he was the greatest of their leaders, but the names of Begg, Candlish, Cunningham, Duncan, Gordon, Guthrie, Hanna, Moncreiff, etc., should not be omitted. At that time the members of the Free Church vastly outnumbered those of the Established, but the latter has taken such strides that its communicants now exceed those of the Free Church and the United Presbyterian together by 142,880 (according to the Rev. W. Simpson of Bonhill). At the time of the Disruption its leaders were opposed to the voluntary system; they claimed that it was the duty of the Government to support the Church; their descendants, however, lean towards a union with the United Presbyterians, who are a voluntary church.—T.

[2] This party arose in consequence of the ecclesiastical disputes at the time of William III., to whom many Bishops refused to take the oath of allegiance on account of his avowed preference for the Presbyterians and disbelief in the divine right of the bishops. About the year 1700, the designation 'Low Church' was applied to those who did not join the bishops in their opposition to the King, and professed 'Evangelicalism,' which is closely allied to the German 'Pietism.' The opposite party were designated the 'High Church.'

trinitarians sought refuge for the most part in Switzerland, but, being persecuted there, fled further, either into Poland or Hungary and Siebenbürgen. In Poland (at Rakau) and in Siebenbürgen they formed congregations in the second half of the sixteenth century, but in the year 1658 they were driven by an edict out of Poland. In Siebenbürgen, in Holland, and in other places, they have held their ground down to the present day.

[The Unitarians were not popular in England, notwithstanding that John Bidle (1615-72) tried to popularise their views. Dr. Lardner in 1730, and Dr. Priestley in 1767, brought them into greater prominence, and a great impetus to the formation of congregations was given by the entrance into their body of Theophilus Lindsay, who gave up a living he held in Yorkshire in 1773, and formed the first large congregation at a hall in Essex Street, where is now the headquarters of the British and Foreign Unitarian Association, which was formed in 1825. The penal laws against them were repealed in 1813, and in 1844 the right to the chapels of their Presbyterian forefathers was secured. A great change was effected in the spirit of this body by the writings of W. E. Channing (1780-1842), who was one of their most distinguished leaders in North America, as he introduced an emotional and spiritual element in which he found effective fellow-workers in Rev. Dr. James Martineau, whom one might call their spiritual Nestor, Rev. J. J. Tayler, Rev. J. H. Thom, and others. Many at the present day do not consider themselves bound by any doctrines, and call themselves Free Christians. They object to be called Socinians, which is really a misnomer as applied to the Unitarians of this country.—T.]

The founders of the Unitarian System were Laelius Socinus, a descendant of the old race of jurists at Sienna, named Sozini, who died in 1562, and his nephew, Faustus Socinus, who died in 1604, from whom the Unitarians in Poland obtained the name of Socinians.

The Rakau Catechism, published in 1605, gives a short *résumé* of their doctrines. The principal Unitarians declare the Bible, especially the New Testiment, as the sole source of divine knowledge, but in interpreting it they admit nothing repugnant to reason, they repudiate all representations of God's Being and attributes. They consider Trinitarianism as well as the notion of a pre-existing nature of Christ as contrary to Scripture and to reason, that Christ

is called the Logos as the interpreter of the divine will, and God from the might, dignity, and dominion granted to him. They do not believe in original sin, nor vicarious sacrifice. The death of Christ was only necessary to the accomplishment of his own perfection, and as an example for Christians. The sacraments are merely symbolical acts. Infant Baptism is looked on as an ancient and laudable custom, but not indispensable. With regard to the Lord's Supper they hold the same views as those of Zwingli. They insist strictly on morality, and reject war, capital punishment and the taking of oaths.

4. *The Arminians or Remonstrants.*

The Calvinistic doctrine had found ready acceptance in the reformed Netherlands as elsewhere. In opposition to it, that is, in opposition to its rigid predestinarianism, came forward Jac. Arminius (Harmensen), since 1587 a preacher in Amsterdam. As Professor of Theology at Leyden, he was openly attacked in 1604 by his strictly Calvinistic opponent Gornarus, and died in 1609, during the public discussion which followed. His adherents, among whom Simon Episcopius had acquired the highest repute as a dogmatist, enunciated their views in the following five propositions :—1. That the counsels of God are conditional; 2. That Christ died for all men; 3. It depends on a man's faith whether he will be a participator in the benefits of Christ's death; and to this saving faith he cannot attain without the grace of God; 4. That this divine grace does not work irresistibly; but 5. That it can be lost.

These propositions were laid before the Dutch States in 1610 in a so-called 'Remonstrance,' (hence their name Remonstrants). A religious conference, which was held for the settlement of the dispute, ended without result. As the political heads of the republican party, the Land-syndic Oldenbarneveld, who was beheaded in 1619, and the celebrated Hugo Grotius (who died in 1645), declared themselves in favour of the Remonstrants, Prince Maurice of Orange placed himself on the side of the Contra-Remonstrants, and had the two leaders of the opposite party put in prison. The great Synod of the Reformed Church, which was held at Dordrecht (Nov. 13, 1618 to May 9, 1619), and in which reformed theologians from England, Scotland, the Palatinate, Switzerland, Hesse, Nassau, East Friesland, and Bremen, took part, rejected the doctrine of the Remonstrants by a majority of votes.

The excommunicated Remonstrants, some of whom remained at

home in retirement as 'Collegians' without preachers, while others were banished from their country and emigrated to Schleswig, where they settled in 1621 at Friedrichstadt and elsewhere, obtained toleration again in 1630, which has continued down to the present time, and the number of those now formed into settled congregations has increased considerably. The Arminians admit into their community any one who acknowledges the New Testament, however he may interpret it, as the only rule of faith and life, abhorring idolatry and anything approaching it, and living conformably to God's Will, and exercising tolerance to every one in religious matters. In consequence of their freedom of doctrine, independence of any binding confession of faith, and in their investigation of Scripture, the Arminian theologians, Hugo Grotius, G. H. Vossius, Limborch, Le Clerc, Wetstein, and others, have considerably advanced exegetical science, while for the same reason many of them have favoured the Socinian or Arian doctrines and the Pelagian views of conversion, etc., etc. Their indifference to Church dogmas has favoured the movements for union, which have found acceptance in Germany.

The Latitudinarians in England, and the Syncretists in Germany in the seventeenth century, are related to them. The latter were the adherents of G. Calixt, who declared themselves against the strict maintenance of narrowly defined doctrines and dogmatic formulae. (See p. 6.)

CHAPTER XX

PROTESTANT SECTS OF THE SEVENTEENTH AND EIGHTEENTH CENTURY WHICH HAD ORIGINATED IN OPPOSITION TO OUTWARD CHURCH FORM AND A LIFELESS ORTHODOXY

1. *The Society of Friends* (*Quakers*).

A SHOEMAKER in the county of Leicester (George Fox, 1624-1691) imagined that he had discovered the cause of the sad condition of the Church of England in the seventeenth century, in the fact that Christians neglected to set the internal above the external, the voice of the Divine Spirit within them above the written word. In 1647 he began to preach the religion of the Spirit in opposition to the established clergy, and the little value of all ecclesiastical and outward forms; and he succeeded in forming a congregation who called themselves the 'Society of Friends,' but received from their opponents the nickname of *Quakers* (probably in allusion to Isaiah xxxii. 11). When this society had progressed from their first stage of fanatical action, which drew on them severe persecutions, and when their principles were reduced to a more reasonable form by the labours of Robert Barclay and others, they obtained toleration under James II. in 1687, and met with a favourable reception in 1682 in Pennsylvania, with its chief town Philadelphia, in North America, through the influence of William Penn (1644-1718), the son of Admiral W. Penn.

The 'Friends' place the 'inner word' of God, the 'Christ within us,' above all positive revelation, which, however, they do not deny. They have no fixed doctrines, no preachers, no churches, no festivals, no sacraments, neither baptism nor the Lord's Supper. The moving of the Spirit within us, the awakening of *Light* in us, and an

earnest moral life are to them the real essentials of religion. Their constitution is completely democratic: they assemble in plain, unadorned buildings, silent, with their heads covered, and eyes cast to the ground, waiting for the spirit. In public life they refuse to take the oath or military service, to pay tithes to the clergy, to undertake magisterial offices, and avoid all ceremonies, worldly pleasures, titles of honour in addressing others, and fashionable dress.

The logical carrying out of the quaker principles of Elias Hicks, according to whose doctrine the inner word of God is at the same time the Christ living in us, by whom we are justified and sanctified, so that the history of Jesus and of His divinity, the inspiration of Scripture, and all positive dogmas must lose their significance, caused, in 1837, the exodus of a great number of members, and the foundation of the society of 'Evangelical Friends,' who set the Bible above the 'inner light.' Even before that time many of the Quakers, especially in Europe, had given up the strict observance of the original doctrines and practices of the community.

The 'Friends' have done good service by their humane exertions, principally in regard to the abolition of the slave trade, as well as in the improved management of prisons (by Elizabeth Fry and others), and in the establishment of schools and benevolent institutions.

2. *The Moravians or United Brethren.*

The scholastic orthodoxy and lifeless formalism into which the Lutheran Church of the seventeenth century had settled down aroused at last an earnest desire for a more real and spiritual Christianity, resulting in the 'pietism' of which the chief promoters were Spener (1635—1705), and Francke (1663—1727), and which led to the revival of the

Church of the Bohemian and Moravian Brotherhood, and culminated in the society of 'United Brethren,'[1] founded at Herrnhut in Saxony in 1727, by Count Zinzendorff. The object of this new society was the formation of a gathering of awakened souls into an 'ecclesiola in ecclesia,' in preparation for the approaching Advent of our Lord.

An inward personal relation to Christ, a fervent and active faith in his atoning death, as well as a church constitution and communion arranged after the pattern of the old rule of the Brethren, the fundamental condition of which is a hearty brotherly love, connected the members of the community, which spread rapidly not only in Germany, but also in Holland, England, Denmark, Livland, North America and elsewhere; and since 1732 they have begun a very successful mission among the heathen of the West Indies, Greenland, and South Africa.

The assumption that they were a community of 'awakened souls,' and under the immediate direction of Christ as their 'eldest brother,' the regular use of the lot, the almost monastic separation of the congregation and its members 'ἐν διασπορᾷ,' from the great body of the Evangelical Church in country and in town, the importance attached to its peculiar church constitution and cure of souls, *classes* or 'choirs,' the view of Religion as an affair of the *feelings*, which led to indifferentism with regard to clear definitions of doctrine and to unsound views, the unmanly reliance on the *Feeling* of grace which they were afraid of disturbing by taking part in social and political life, together with many other extravagances to which the great personal influence of the count had given an impulse, drew upon them opposition and obloquy not only on the part of the orthodox, but of the pietists also. In consequence, however, of the more reasonable conduct of the second founder of the community, their bishop, August Spangenberg (1704—1792), who introduced various reforms and gave them in the *Idea fidei fratrum* a body of doctrine which essentially harmonised with the Lutheran

[1] This church claims great antiquity, their ancestors having suffered much persecution for their refusal to accept dogmas indicated by Rome. They desired especially to read the Bible in their native tongue, and had printed three editions of it before the Reformation. The persecutions were so great that it was supposed that this sect had been annihilated; however, the remnant made several appeals to the Church of England, and Charles II. authorised collections in this country for their relief, and subsequently George I. gave orders in Council to the same effect.—T.

Church, the relations of the faithful in the county churches towards the Brethren was changed to such an extent, that they often sought edification in this 'ecclesiola.' The 'watchwords' of the brotherhood circulate extensively even to this day, notwithstanding that the strict ecclesiastical Lutheranism of the present time is opposed to the tendency towards friendly union.

Since 1749, the Brethren have repeatedly acknowledged the 21 Articles of the Augsburg Confession. The distinction of the original *three* 'tropes' of the Bohemian, Moravian, Lutheran, and Reformed Churches has long been done away with.

Since the year 1789, the conference of Elders, which is divided into departments for the helpers, the overseers, the ministers, and the missions, has had its sittings in Berthelsdorf near Herrnhut, where from time to time Synods are held.

3. *The Baptists.*

The English and North American Baptists have no connection with the Anabaptists mentioned above, although they also reject infant baptism. They arose about 1640 from the sect of Independents, whose principles they for the most part retain, as well as the Reformed doctrines, but insist on the strictest possible adherence to the letter of the New Testament. After an assembly held in London 1689, they divided into two parties: *The Particular Baptists*, who hold firmly the *gratia particularis* of Calvin, and the *General Baptists* who teach the Arminian doctrine of the *gratia universalis*. Besides these chief parties numerous small ones have been formed. The Independent Church constitution is common to them all, with more or less strict Church discipline.

The Baptists are one of the most numerous of the many sects in the North American Free States, and are very zealous and active in all regions of Mission work, both home and foreign. Since 1857, 'The Church of Baptized Christians' has found adherents even in Germany, who turned their backs on the 'Babylon' of the Established Church in order to form a 'Pure Church of The Saints.'

4. *The Methodists.*

As in Germany so also in England there arose at the beginning of the 18th century a powerful reaction against the outward formality of the High Church; a movement known under the designation of 'Methodism.' In the English Episcopal Church there was found coexisting with ritual and dogmatic rigidity great lukewarmness and worldliness of Christian life, so that earnest minds found sufficient cause to urge regeneration and renewal of heart by repentance and faith and sanctification of life.

In the year 1729 a number of students in the University of Oxford formed themselves into a pious union under the guidance of John and Charles Wesley, and this society soon obtained the nickname of 'Methodists' on account of their new method of Christian life. John Wesley (1703-1791), who felt himself specially called to the work, found a valuable assistant in England and North America in George Whitefield (1714-1770). Their exciting sermons, which, on account of their being refused admittance to the Episcopal Churches, were held in the open air, urging the necessity of immediate repentance, produced an extraordinary effect, and not unfrequently their hearers were thrown into convulsions by the excitement. They endeavoured, by means of a strictly organised system of pastoral care, to bring their awakened followers, who were divided into classes of from ten to fifteen members and small bands of individuals of the same age and sex, to holiness of life. Their association was to be not only a savour for the whole Church, but also a means of preaching the gospel to the heathen.

But as early as 1741 the doctrine of predestination caused a division among the Methodists, and while the majority declared themselves for the Arminian teaching of Wesley, the remainder followed the strictly Calvinistic Whitefield. The latter, however, subsequently spread in North America, and gained great influence by their 'revivals' in towns, and their camp-meetings, which generally lasted eight days in the country districts, at which the most extreme excitement of the feelings was aimed at.

In America the slave-trade gave another cause for a separation;

but even in England constant divisions took place in the community, and since 1814 there have been two separate Methodist Missionary Societies in London.

The Methodists have worked diligently for the conversion of the Indians, the negroes, and other heathen, and for the abolition of slavery. In North America they are now the most numerous and the most influential of all sects, and are found in considerable numbers also in Germany and Switzerland.[1]

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[1] As the original sharpness of the slight difference of doctrine between the Baptists and Methodists has everywhere been lost, and as little weight is given to ceremonies by both of them, they form together a great anti-ritualist and anti-papistical party, and are the support of the Republican party in North America.

CHAPTER XXI

ANTI-UNIONIST AND FREE-CHURCH SECTS

Even in the time of the Reformation there was a desire for a *reunion of religious parties.* In 1533 Erasmus sought to effect a union of the Catholics and Protestants by his writing *de amabili ecclesiae concordia*, and in 1566, at the desire of Ferdinand I., J. Cassander and J. Wizel worked in the same cause. But their writings could no more obliterate the principal difference than could the numerous conferences and deliberations that were held for that end (as for example that of Ratisbon in 1541, and of Thorn in 1645). Even the endeavours of a Calixtus and a Leibnitz failed to bridge over the gulf.

But even the attempts to bring about a peaceful union of the Lutheran and Reformed Church had for a long time only a passing effect, or a partial one, as well as the Wittenberg Concordia of 1536, the Consensus Sendomiriensis of 1570 between the Lutherans, Reformed, and Bohemian brethren, the conferences at Leipzig in 1631 and the peace conference at Cassel in 1661, and even the prohibition to attend the rigidly Lutheran University of Wittenberg, which was issued by the great Elector of Brandenburg, only excited bitter opposition, and in the same way the negotiations for the union of the two evangelical churches in the beginning of the 18th century, under the auspices of Frederick I. of Prussia, between the theologians of Helmstadt and Brandenburg and the Bishop of the Bohemian Brethren, as well as those carried on since 1720 at Ratisbon by the Chancellor Pfaff of Tübingen, met with an opposition which showed that the time for such endeavours was not yet ripe.

It was only towards the close of the 18th century, when the dogmatic confessional differences were somewhat abated, that Frederick William III. could attempt, with any success, to bring about a union in his own States. In the year 1804 Schleiermacher wrote a treatise on the means of carrying out the union of the two Protestant churches. The affair was for a long time deliberated upon and discussed, and at last on September 27th 1817 a

Cabinet order was issued to all Consistories, Synods, and Superintendents, in which an earnest desire for the union of the Reformed and Lutheran Churches was expressed. The Reformed Church was not to be made Lutheran, nor was the latter to be absorbed into the former, but out of both was to proceed an evangelical Christian Church full of new life in the spirit of its founder. The work of union, which had hitherto been wrecked by the unfortunate sectarian spirit that had prevailed, was now to succeed under the influence of a better spirit, setting aside the non-essential and maintaining firmly the essence of Christianity in which both confessions were agreed. Further steps towards the blending of the two churches were taken in 1830 by the introduction of the liturgy and ritual for the Lord's Supper.

Different views with regard to the principles of the union soon appeared to be inevitable. According to some the fixed symbolical dogmas of the two churches, with the exception of that of the Lord's Supper, somewhat in accordance with the 'variation' of 1540, remained valid; according to others there was to be no special doctrine claiming unconditional acceptance; they should hold themselves indifferent to *all* dogmatic formularies. The Spirit of Christ, as represented in the Gospels, was the one thing essential.

The *strict Lutherans* saw in the Union only a falling away from the testimony of the fathers and the temptation to soul-destroying error. Two professors of the Breslau University, the Theologian Scheibel and the Jurist Huschke, were the leaders of this party. When the Cabinet decree of 1834 was issued, imposing on all the clergy the acceptance of the new liturgy which had been already adopted in the Royal Chapel and in the Cathedral, while it left it optional to every one to join the Union or not as he thought fit, but at the same time denounced in the strongest terms a non-united Church as 'most unchristian,' the authorities had recourse to the military power in order to enforce obedience in some of the country parishes in Silesia.

The suspended preachers held, however, a Synod in Breslau in February 1835, and resolved to save the Lutheran Church by any justifiable means. Scheibel induced the congregations who had left the country Church to accept an 'apostolical constitution,' with strict Church discipline. The severe compulsory measures adopted against the refractory Lutherans, by which many were driven into exile, were completely set aside at his accession to the throne by Frederick William IV., who even permitted them in 1841 to constitute themselves into a completely separated 'Lutheran

Church' with an independent constitution, which was done at a General Synod held at Breslau. In 1845 the Government granted these 'Old Lutherans,' as they were called, a general concession by which free religious worship was allowed them and the authority of their head College at Breslau acknowledged. The number of separatists has increased considerably since 1848. At the General Synod of 1860, however, a division took place owing to quarrels over the subject of Church discipline, which were injurious to the further development of the separation. The union of the seceding congregations called itself the 'Immanuel Synod.'

The opposition to the union itself, and to any real or intended measures for creating a union of the Established Church, has produced divisions not only in Prussia, but also in Baden, Hesse, Nassau, Saxony, and Hanover, by the Lutheran separations, though they are for the most part of no great extent. Even in strictly Lutheran circles with the mistrust of the State Church there has appeared a tendency toward 'Free Churchism' which promises further separations.

In the West of Germany also, as well as in Holland, some of the strict Reformed congregations have separated from the State Church,

The 'Free Congregation' have also separated themselves from the State Church on altogether different grounds. The conviction that the Union secured a freer position towards the doctrines of the Church led at the time of the reaction in 1842 under William IV. to the formation of congregations of Free-thinkers (that is of the 'Protestant Friends,' generally called 'Friends of Light') in the Province of Saxony. When the assemblies of the Protestant Friends were suppressed and their preachers dismissed, they formed themselves in 1846 into a Free Church, acknowledging only a belief in God and His eternal Kingdom as established by Jesus Christ, and demanding in all other things the practice of morality and humanity. The Prussian Edict of Toleration in 1847 assured protection to these communities, and in the year 1850 a union was effected between them and the German Catholic communities. But the ecclesiastical regulations of the Free Church had already begun, in consequence of which many of them collapsed, and some of those that remain exhibit signs of disintegration and want of vitality.

CHAPTER XXII

MILLENARIAN SECTS, WHICH AIM AT A COMPLETE TRANSFORMATION OF THE CHRISTIAN CHURCH

1. *The Swedenborgians.*

Immanuel von Swedenborg (1688-1772), a learned Swedish nobleman, assessor of the Board of Mines at Stockholm, busied himself much about the year 1740 with cabalistic studies and theosophical speculations on the *Church of the New Jerusalem* and the Apocalypse,[1] which was his favourite biblical book. The consequence was that he imagined himself to be in communication with spirits, and to receive higher revelations, and called to introduce a new epoch to the Church, a new system of Divine economy, a *third testament* for the perfection of the second. He found followers, principally in Stockholm and in London. In course of time, 'The Church of the New Jerusalem' attracted attention in more extended circles, along with somnambulism, animal magnetism, and similar phenomena.

F. C. Oetinger and J. F. J. Tafel preached the Swedenborgian views in Würtemberg, where they were incorporated in the Catechism of the New Church in 1828, according to which the 'New Jerusalem' is already at hand, and the judgment and second coming of Christ have already taken place.

While fervour and sympathy of religious feeling dominated with the Moravians, energy of will with the Methodists, and the more sober exercise of the reasoning powers among the Rationalists of the 18th century, the

[1] The doctrine of the Millennium or 'Chiliasmus' (from the Greek χίλια ἔτη, *i.e.* 1000 years) is derived from Rev. xx. 3-7.

Swedenborgians were chiefly characterised by their superabundance of imagination and love of allegory, which led to the wildest interpretation of Scripture.

2. *Irvingites.*

Edward Irving (who died in 1834), a minister of the Scottish Presbyterian Church in London, preached with the greatest enthusiasm on the prophecies of Daniel and of the Apocalypse, on the misery of the lower orders and the gifts of the Holy Ghost and their manifestations. His supporters endeavoured to introduce by fervent prayer the new outpouring of the Spirit. This exaltation led in 1830 to results in which he imagined that he recognised the gift of tongues and the prophetic powers of the Apostolic times. In 1833 he was dismissed from his office by the presbytery, on account of disturbances which took place during the divine service and of unsoundness of doctrine with regard to the human nature of Christ, and from that time he devoted himself to the renovation of the corrupt church by the introduction of 'Apostolic Offices,' among which he also reckoned the 'Angels' of the Apocalypse, and an apostolical constitution in order to prepare for the *approaching Advent of Christ.* In the year 1836 the apostles were sent out for the first time. This sect, calling itself the 'Apostolic Church' has many followers in various parts of Germany (in Berlin since 1848). Notwithstanding that the Irvingites hold themselves aloof from all spiritual connection with the 'corrupt' established churches, and have an organised church system of their own, they do not consider it necessary to make a public declaration of their separation from it.

3. *The Darbyites or Plymouth Brethren and other Millennial unions.*

John Darby, who died in 1882, formerly an Anglican priest, declared that the whole church had fallen away from true Christianity since the times of the apostles; he rejected in fact all hierarchical institutions, announced the approaching advent of Christ, and urged all those who wished to save themselves from universal shipwreck and prepare for the coming of Christ to unite freely without *any* church organisation (they do not even consider baptism necessary), and to withhold themselves from all worldly action. In Plymouth he found followers in great numbers, and after some persecution in England he went in 1838 to Switzerland, where he made converts (chiefly in Lausanne), and also in Würtemberg.

It was principally in Würtemberg by Bengel's 'Explanation of the Revelation of St. John,' in 1740, and Oetinger's 'Theosophy' that Millenarianism was widely extended and led to the formation of apostolical unions, for the purpose of preparing the way for the thousand years of Christ's reign on earth, not only in Germany (as in Kornthal) but also by missions to America headed by George Rapp, leader of the 'Harmonists,' who maintained a community of goods, and to Palestine as Hoffmanists of the 'Temple Church.' The communistic and socialistic features peculiar to most of these little sects came out strongly in France in the Society of Saint-Simon, who also strove for the establishment of a complete new system of civil and ecclesiastical polity.

Count Saint-Simon (who died in 1825) had announced in

his 'Système Industriel' and his 'Nouveau Christianisme' a new flourishing kingdom of peace and love, freedom, and equality, the happiness of all men and their being as brethren in *one* family, in short, a kingdom such as Moses had promised and Jesus had prepared. The highest religion was declared to be universal love, which is only possible when all pain is banished from mankind and all matter is consecrated. The means, by which this is to be attained, is *Industry*: the state, being in possession of all source of production, must place all industrial labour under a Hierarchy of priests.—From these doctrines, a mixture of mediaeval hierarchical ideas with the modern notions of freedom, equality, and universal brotherhood, Enfantin drew the practical consequences, advocating the abolition of birthright, the emancipation of women, and communistic industrial workshops. The pattern community founded by him at Ménilmontant was broken up in 1832 on account of its violation of public morals.

The Socialists of the present day are, for the most part, in a position of hostility towards Christianity.

ABBREVIATIONS ETC.

Apolog., Apologia to the Augsburg Confessio.
Cat. Rom., Catechismus Romanus.
Conc. Dord., Council of Dordrecht.
Conc. Trid., Canons of the Council of Trent.
Conf. Aug., The Confessio Augustana or Augsburg Confession.
Conf. Helv., Confessio Helvetica.
Conf. Tetra., Confessio Tetrapolitana.
Form. Conc., The Concordienformel.
Form. Conc. Sol. decl., The Second Formula Concordiae or Solida Declaratio.
Prof. fidei Trid., Professio Fidei Tridentinae.
Schmalk. Art., Articles of Schmalkald.

THE FOLLOWING ARE THE PRINCIPAL EDITIONS OF THE SYMBOLICAL BOOKS :—

Libri Symbolici Ecclesiae Orientalis ; instr. E. J. Kimmel, 8vo., Jena, 1843.

Libri Symbolici Ecclesiae Catholicae ; instr. Streitwolf et Kleine. 2 vols. 8vo., Göttingen, 1846.

Canones et Decreta Concilii Tridentini ex editione Romana, MDCCCXXXIV., *repetiti. Accedunt S. Congre. Card. Conc. Trid. interpretum declarationes,* etc., etc. Ed. Ae. L. Richter and F. Schulte imp. 8vo., Leipzig, 1843.

Canones et Decreta Sacrosancti et œcumenici Concilii Tridentini. Ed. XI., Leipzig, 1887.

Catechismus ex decreto Concil. Trid. ad Parochos Pii Quinti Pont. Max. jussu editus. Ed. XI., 8vo., 1893.

There is another edition published in Regensburg.

Libri Symbolici ecclesiae Lutheranae; ed. Fr. Francke. 8vo., Leipzig, 1846.

This work contains in Part I. *The Œcumenical Creeds, The Confessio Augustana*, and *The Apologia.* Part II., *Articuli Schmalcaldici, Catechismus minor, Catechismus major.* Part III., *Formula Concordiae, Confessio Variata, Responsio ad Conf. Aug. Pontifica*, and *The Confessio Doctrinae Saxonica by Melanchthon.* The parts are to be had separately.

Augsburgische Confession. 8vo., Nürnberg, 1882.

Concordienbuch Text in 1580. 8vo., St. Louis, 1880.

There are many editions of the two Catechisms of Luther in German.

Articuli Schmalkaldici; Editio facsimile von Luther's Autographen. 8vo., Heidelberg, 1883. Second Ed., 1886.

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